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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease." SIR WM. JONES.

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ERRATA

IN

JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, PART I,

FOR 1876.

Page 141, l. 19, and p. 152, l. 18, for *zui* read *zui*

- „ 143, l. 27, for *میدور* read *میدور*
- „ 150, l. 6 from below, for with the read with the house, and for in the houses read with the houses
- „ 157, l. 8, for *kshön-i* read *kshön-at*
- „ 159, l. 26, for *yu* read *yü*
- „ 160, l. 2, from below, for doing read taking
- „ 185, note, for *khan* and *san*, read *khan* and *sau*
- „ 186, l. 4, in column “Indian, Modern”, after apricot insert *chîr*, GADDI
- „ 186, l. 4 from below, in column “Ghalchah”, for *kashîr* read *khshîr*
- „ 188, l. 6, for *shanîdan* read *shunîdan*
- „ 188, l. 5 from below, for *karbej* read *khar-bej*
- „ 332, l. 23, for *Shiâm* read *Shiâm*
- „ 334, l. 5, from below, for *شکستہ* read *شکستہ*
- „ 349, l. 14, for we read he
- „ 381, l. 20, for assembled read had assembled
- „ 390, l. 22, for *Raterindâm* read *Ratnindâm*
- „ 390, l. 29, for gymnasium read gynaeceum
- „ 396, l. 25, for scymitar read scimitar
- „ 396, l. 26, dele comma after and

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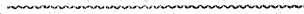
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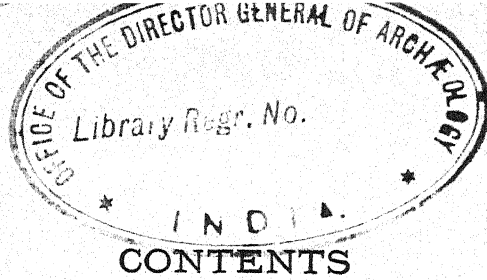
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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1876.

The Prologue to the Rámáyana of Tulsi Dás. A Specimen translation.

—By F. S. GROWSE, M. A., B. C. S.

The Sanskrit Rámáyana of Válmíki has been published more than once, with all the advantages of European editorial skill and the most luxurious typography. It has also been translated both in verse and prose, and—in part at least—into Latin as well as into Italian and English. The more popular Hindi version of the same great national Epic can only be read in lithograph or bazar print, and has never been translated in any form into any language whatever. Yet it is no unworthy rival of its more fortunate predecessor. There can of course be no comparison between the polished phraseology of classical Sanskrit and the rough colloquial idiom of Tulsi Dás's vernacular, while the antiquity of Válmíki's poem further invests it with an adventitious interest for the student of Indian history. But on the other hand the Hindi poem is the best and most trustworthy guide to the popular living faith of the Hindu race at the present day—a matter of not less practical interest than the creed of their remote ancestors—and its language, which in the course of three centuries has contracted a tinge of archaism, is a study of the greatest importance to the philologist, since it serves to bridge an otherwise impassable chasm between the modern style and the mediæval. It is also less wordy and diffuse than the Sanskrit original, and—probably in consequence of its modern date—is less disfigured by wearisome interpolations and repetitions; while, if it never soars so high as Válmíki in some of his best passages, it maintains a more equable level of poetic diction and seldom sinks with him into such dreary depths of

unmitigated prose. It must also be noted that it is in no sense a translation of the earlier work: the general plan and the management of the incidents are necessarily much the same, but there is a difference in the touch in every detail; and the two poems vary as widely as any two dramas on the same mythological subject by two different Greek tragedians. Even the coincidence of name is an accident; for Tulsi Dás himself called his poem "The Rám-charit-mánas", and the shorter name, corresponding in form to the *Iliad* or *Æneid*, was only substituted by his admirers as a handier designation for a popular favourite.

The passage, of which a translation is here submitted, forms the Introduction to the first book. It is at once of less obvious interest and also of much greater difficulty than the narrative portions of the poem. It is valuable, however, as a resumé of popular Hindu theology and metaphysics, and it supplies some personal details of the author's life. Thus we learn from it that he studied at Soron, and commenced writing at Ayudhyá on the festival of Ráma's birthday in the Sambat year 1631, corresponding to 1575, A. D. We need not suppose that he remained long at Ayudhyá, for according to tradition the main body of the poem was composed at Chitrakút. His vindication of himself against his critics is a curious feature. They attacked him for lowering the dignity of his subject by clothing it in the vulgar vernacular. However just his defence may be, it did not succeed in converting the opposite faction; and the professional Sanskrit Pandits, who are their modern representatives, still affect to despise his work as an unworthy concession to the illiterate masses. With this small and solitary exception the book is in every one's hands, from the court to the cottage, and is read or heard and appreciated alike by every class of the Hindu community, whether high or low, rich or poor, young or old. The purity of its moral sentiments and the absolute avoidance of the slightest approach to any pruriency of idea—which the author justly advances among his distinctive merits—render it a singularly unexceptionable text-book for native boys. For several years past I have persistently urged its adoption upon the Education Department, and—thanks to Rájá Siva Prasád—extracts from it have now been introduced into our primary schools. It has always been prescribed as the principal test in the Civil Examination for High Proficiency and a Degree of Honour; and it is equally well adapted for both these apparently incongruous purposes. For a Hindu child generally grasps at once the familiar idiom and finds no great difficulty in even the most crabbed passage; while on the other hand both the terminology and the syntactic collocation of the words are in the highest degree perplexing to the European student. The reason is, that an English official as a rule knows only the language of the courts, and has never studied the vernacular of the people: for which neglect he has hitherto had much excuse in the

absence both of a Dictionary and a Grammar. The former want is in course of being supplied by Dr. Fallon ; and the latter by Mr. Kellogg of the Allahabad Mission, who has nearly completed a work that promises from the pages I have seen, to be in a remarkable degree both lucid and exhaustive.

It will, I think, be admitted that a poem of such manifold interest should no longer be withheld from the English reader ; and the advantages in the way of criticisms and suggestions which I hope to secure from its being generally known that a translation is in progress will, I trust, be a sufficient excuse for occupying so many pages with the following specimen. The notes that I have added are more explanatory than would be required by the members of a learned Society, but they may be found useful by the general public, and I have therefore retained them in their place ; since I would have the specimen represent as closely as possible the exact form which it is intended the complete work should assume.

BOOK I.—CHILDHOOD.

Sanskrit Invocation.

I reverence the Goddess of Speech and the Divine Guide,* who are the inventors of the alphabet ; of multiform expression ; of the poetic modes and of metre. I reverence Bhaváni and Sankara, the incarnation of Faith and Hope, without whom not even the just can see God the great Spirit. I reverence as the incarnation of Sankara the all wise Guru, through whom even the crescent moon is everywhere honoured.† I reverence the king of Bards‡ and the Monkey-king, of pure intelligence, who ever lingered with delight in the holy forest land of Ráma and Sítá's infinite perfection. I bow before Sítá, the beloved of Ráma ; the queen of birth, of life and death ; the destroyer of sorrow ; the cause of happiness. I reverence, under his name of Ráma, the Lord Hari ; supreme over all causes ; to whose illusive power are subject the whole universe and every supernatural being from Brahma downwards ; by whose light truth is made manifest, as when what appeared to be a snake turns out a rope ; and by whose feet as by a bark those who

* By *Váni*, the goddess of speech and *Vináyaka*, the guide, are certainly intended the divinities ordinarily so designated, viz. Sarasvati and Ganesa. The translation, however, leaves it open ; since some of the Hindu commentators conceive that in this particular passage the reference is rather to Sítá and Lakshman.

† The crescent moon, being one of Sankara's (*i. e.* Siva's) constant symbols, is honoured on his account, though in itself imperfect ; while the full moon is honoured for its own sake.

‡ The king of bards is Válmíki, the reputed author of the Sanskrit Rámáyana. The monkey king is of course Hanumán, and the two are brought together more on account of the close similarity of name than for any other reason ; *Kavisvara* and *Kapisvara* differing only by a single letter.

will, may pass safely over the ocean of existence. In accord with all the Puránas and different sacred texts and with what has been recorded in the Rámáyana (of Válmíki) and elsewhere, I Tulsi to gratify my own heart's desire have composed these lays of Raghunáth in most choice and elegant modern speech.

Sorathá 1.

O Ganes of the grand elephant head, the mention of whose name ensures success, be gracious to me, accumulation of wisdom, store-house of all good qualities ! Thou too, by whose favour the dumb becomes eloquent and the lame can climb the vastest mountain, be favourable to me, O thou that consumest as a fire all the impurities of this iron age. Take up thy abode also in my heart, O thou that slumberest on the milky ocean, with body dark as the lotus and eyes bright as the water lily. O spouse of Uma, clear of hue as the jasmine or the moon, home of compassion, who shewest pity to the humble, shew pity upon me, O destroyer of Kámadeva. I reverence the lotus feet of my master, that ocean of benevolence, Hari incarnate, whose words are like a flood of sunlight on the darkness of ignorance and infatuation.*

Chaupái.

I reverence the pollen-like dust of the lotus feet of my master, bright, fragrant, sweet and delicious ; pure extract of the root of ambrosia, potent to disperse all the attendant ills of life ; like the holy ashes on the divine body of Sambhu, beautiful, auspicious, ecstatic. Applied to the forehead as a *tilak*, it cleanses from defilement the fair mirror of the human mind and enriches it with all the virtues of the Master. By recalling the lustre of the nails of the reverend guru's feet, a divine splendour illumines the soul, dispersing the shades of error with its sun-like glory. How blessed he who takes it to his heart ! the mental vision brightens and expands, the night of the world with its sin and pain fades away ; the actions of Ráma,† like diamonds and rubies, whether obvious or obscure, all alike become clear, in whichever direction the mine is explored.

Dohá 1.

By applying this collyrium as it were to the eyes, all good and holy men see and understand his sportive career when on earth, on mountain or in forest, and all the treasures of his grace.

* The persons addressed in this stanza are Ganes, Sarasvati, Náráyan, and the poet's own spiritual instructor, or guru.

† The simple actions are compared to rubies, which may be picked up on the surface of the ground ; the mysterious actions to diamonds, which have to be dug out of a mine.

Chaupái.

The dust of the guru's feet is a soft and charming collyrium, like ambrosia for the eyes, to remove every defect of vision. With this having purified the eyes of my understanding, I proceed to relate the actions of Ráma, the redeemer of the world. First I reverence the feet of the great Brahman saints, potent to remove the doubts engendered by error. In my heart as with my voice I reverence the whole body of the Faithful, mines of perfection ; whose good deeds resemble the fruit of the cotton-plant in austerity, purity, and manifold uses, and in painful cleansing from impurities : reverence to them, whatever the age or clime in which their glory was consummated. An assembly of the saints is all joy and felicity, like the great *tírath* Prayág endowed with motion ; for faith in Ráma is as the stream of the Ganges ; contemplation on Brahma as the Sarasvati ; and ritual, dealing with precepts and prohibitions for the purification of this iron age, as the sun-god's daughter the Jamuná. The united flood of the Tribeni is represented by the legends of Hari and of Hara, filling all that hear with delight : the sacred fig tree by faith firm in its own traditions ; and Prayág itself by the assembly of the virtuous. Easy of access to all, on any day, at any place, curing all the ills of pious devotees, is this unspeakable, spiritual chief *tírath*, of manifest virtue and yielding immediate fruit.

Dohá 2.

At this Prayág of holy men, whoever hears and understands and in spirit devoutly bathes, receives even in this life all four rewards.*

Chaupái.

In an instant behold the result of the immersion ; the crow becomes a parrot and the goose a swan. Let no one marvel at hearing this, for the influence of good company is no mystery. Válmíki, Nárada and the jar-born Agastya† have told its effect upon themselves. Whatever moves in the water or on the earth or in the air ; every creature in the world, whether animate or inanimate, that has attained to knowledge, or glory, or salvation, or power,

* The four rewards are *káma*, *artha*, *dharma*, *moksha* ; that is, pleasure, wealth, religious merit, and final salvation.

† Válmíki confessed to Ráma that he had once been a hunter and had taken the life of many innocent creatures, till he fell in with the seven Rishis, who converted him and taught him to express his penitence by constantly repeating the word *mara*, *mara*. As this is Ráma read backwards, it acted as a spell and advanced him to the highest degree of sanctity.

Similarly Nárada confessed to Vyása, the author of the Puránas, that he was by birth only the son of a poor slave-girl, and had become a saint simply by eating the fragments of food left by the holy men who frequented his master's house.

Agastya also declared to Mahádeva that by birth he was the meanest of all creatures, and had only attained to miraculous powers by the influence of good company.

or virtue, by any work, at any time or place, has triumphed through association with the good; neither the world nor the Veda knows of any other expedient. Intercourse with the good is attainable only by the blessing of Ráma, and without it wisdom is impossible: it is the root of all joy and felicity, its flowers are good works and its fruit perfection. By it the wicked are reformed, as by the touch of the philosopher's stone a vile metal becomes gold. If by mischance a good man falls into evil company, like the jewel in a serpent's head, he still retains his character. Brahma, Vishnu, Mahádeva; the wisest of the poets; all have failed to describe the supremacy of virtue; for me to tell it is as it were for a costermonger to expatiate on the excellence of a set of jewels.

Dohá 3-4.

I reverence the saints of equable temperament, who regard neither friend nor foe; like a gracious flower which sheds its fragrance alike on both infolding hands.* Ye Saints, whose upright intention, whose catholic charity and whose ready sympathy I acknowledge, hear my child-like prayer, be gracious to me and inspire me with devotion to the feet of Ráma.

Chaupái.

Again, I would propitiate those saintly wretches† who without a cause swerve right or left; with whom a neighbour's loss is gain; who rejoice in desolation and weep over prosperity; who are as an eclipse to the full-moon glory of Hari and Hara; who become as a giant with a thousand arms to work another's woe; who have a thousand eyes to detect a neighbour's faults, but, like flies on *ghi*, settle on his good points only to spoil them; quick as fire, relentless as hell; rich in crime and sin as Kuver is in gold; like an eclipse for the clouding of friendship, and as dead asleep as Kumbha-karan‡ to everything good; if they can do any injury, as ready to sacrifice themselves as hailstones, that melt after destroying a crop; spiteful as the great serpent, with a thousand tongues; and like Prithuráj,§ with a thousand ears, to tell and hear of others' faults; like the thousand-eyed Indra, too, ever delighting in much strong drink and in a voice of thunder.

* Though the right hand is the one by which it has been plucked, and the left that in which it is held and preserved.

† In the following lines the poet defends himself by anticipation against possible objections, and roundly abuses the whole army of critics.

‡ Rávan's gigantic brother, Kumbha-karan, obtained as a boon from Brahmá, that whenever he had satisfied his voracious appetite, the slumber of repletion might be of the longest and deepest, and that he might only wake to eat again.

§ It is not related that Prithuráj had really ten thousand ears, but only that he prayed that he might be as quick to hear whatever redounded to the glory of God as if his ears were so many.

Dohá 5.

I know when they hear of philosophers, who regard friend and foe both as friends, they are enraged ; but I clasp my hands and entreat them piteously.

Chaupái.

I have performed the rôle of supplication, nor will they forget their part. However carefully you may bring up a crow, it will still be a crow and a thief. I propitiate at once the feet of saints and sinners, who each give pain, but with a difference : for the first kill by absence, while the second torture by their presence : as opposite as a lotus and a leech, though both alike are produced in water. Good and bad thus resemble nectar and intoxicating drink, which were both begotten by the one great ocean :* each by its own acts attains to pre-eminence ; the one in glory, the other in disgrace : compare with the good, ambrosia, or the moon, or the Ganges ; and with the bad, poison, or fire, or the river Karmnáśá. Virtue and vice may be known to all by their natural development.

Dohá 6.

The good acquire goodness, and the vile vileness. Thus ambrosia has its proper effect in immortality, and poison has its effect in death.

Chaupái.

Why enumerate the faults and defects of the bad and the virtues of the good ; both are a boundless and unfathomable ocean. Hence occasionally virtue is reckoned as vice, improperly and from want of discrimination. For God has created both, but it is the Veda that has distinguished one from the other. The heroic legends and the Puránas also, no less than the Vedas, recognize every kind of good and evil as creatures of the creator, pain and pleasure, sin and religious merit ; night and day ; saint and sinner ; high caste and low caste ; demons and gods ; great and small ; life-giving ambrosia and deadly poison ; the visible world and the invisible God ; life and the

* The churning of the ocean is one of the common-places of Hindu poetry, and the allusions to it in the Rámáyana are innumerable. With mount Mandara as a churning-stick, the great serpent Vásuki as a rope, and Náráyan himself in tortoise-form as the pivot on which to work, the gods and demons combined to churn the milky ocean. Thus were produced from its depth the moon ; the sacred cow, Surabhi or Káma-dhe-nu ; the goddess of wine, Varuni ; the tree of Paradise, Párijáta, or Kalpa-taru ; the heavenly nymphs, the Apsarás ; the goddess of beauty, Lakshmi or Sri ; and the physician of the gods, Dhanvantari. The cup of nectar which the latter held in his hand was seized and quaffed by the gods ; while the poison, which also was produced, was either claimed by the snake gods, or swallowed by Mahádeva ; whence comes the blackness of his throat, that gives him the name of *Nil Kanth*.

lord of life ; rich and poor ; the beggar and the king ; Kási and Magadha ;* the Ganges and the Karṁnásá ; the desert of Márwár and the rich plain of Málwá ; the Bráhmaṇ and the butcher ; heaven and hell ; sensual passion and asceticism ; the Vedas and the Tantras, and every variety of good and evil.

Dohá 7.

The creator has made the universe to consist of things animate and inanimate, good and evil : a saint like a swan takes the milk of goodness and rejects the worthless water.†

Chaupái.

When the creator gives men this faculty of judgment, they abandon error and become enamoured of the truth ; but conquered by time, temperament, or fate, even the good, as a result of their humanity, may err from virtue ; but Hari takes their body so to speak and corrects it, and removing all sorrow and sin cleanses it and glorifies them. If the bad through intercourse with the good do good, their inherent badness is not effaced. An impostor of fair outward show may be honoured on account of his garb, but in the end he is exposed and does not succeed ; like Kála-nemi, or Rávan, or Ráhu.‡ The good are honoured notwithstanding their mean appearance, like the bear Jamavant or the monkey Hanumán. Bad company is loss and good company is gain ; this is a truth recognized both by the world and the Veda. In company with the wind the dust flies heavenwards ; if it joins water, it becomes mud and sinks. According to the character of the house in which a parrot or *maina* is trained, it learns either to repeat the name of Ráma or to give abuse. With the ignorant, soot is mere refuse ; but it may make good ink and be used even for copying a Purána ; while water, fire, and air combined become an earth-refreshing rain-cloud.

Dohá 8-11.

The planets, medicines, water, air, clothes, all are good or bad things according as their accompaniments are good or bad ; and people observe this distinction. Both lunar fortnights are equal as regards darkness and light ; but a difference in name has been wisely made, and as the moon waxes or wanes the fortnight is held in high or low esteem. Knowing

* Magadha (Bihár) is taken as the opposite to Kási, in consequence of its being the birth-place of Buddhism.

† To the swan (*raǵ-hans*) is ascribed the fabulous faculty of being able to separate milk from water, after the two have been mixed together.

‡ Kála-nemi by assuming the form of an ascetic imposed for a time upon Hanumán, as Rávan did upon Sítá : and even Vishnu, at the churning of the ocean, was at first deceived by Ráhu, who appeared like one of the gods.

that the whole universe, whether animate or inanimate, is pervaded by the spirit of Ráma, I reverence with clasped hands the lotus feet of all, gods, giants, men, serpents, birds, ghosts, departed ancestors, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, demons of the night ; I pray ye all be gracious to me.

Chaupdi.

By four modes of birth* are produced 84 lakhs of species inhabiting the air, the water and the earth. With clasped hands I perform an act of adoration, recognizing the whole world as pervaded by the spirit of Sítá and Ráma. In your compassion regard me as your servant, and dissembling no longer be kind and affectionate. I have no confidence in the strength of my own wisdom, and therefore I supplicate you all. I would narrate the great deeds of Raghupati ; but my ability is little and his acts unfathomable. I am not conscious of any special qualification or capacity ; my intellect in short is beggarly while my ambition is imperial ; and I am thirsting for nectar, when not even skim milk is to be had. Good people all, pardon my presumption and listen to my childish babbling, as a father and mother delight to hear the lisping prattle of their little one. Perverse and malignant fools may laugh, who pick out faults in others wherewith to adorn themselves. Every one is pleased with his own rhymes, whether they be pungent, or insipid ; but those who praise another's voice are good men, of whom there are few in the world ; there are many enough like the rivers, which on getting a rain-fall swell out a flood of their own, but barely one like the generous ocean, which swells on beholding the fulness of the moon.

Dohá 12.

My lot is low, my purpose high ; but I am confident of one thing, that the good will be gratified to hear me, though fools may laugh.

Chaupdi.

The laughter of fools will be grateful to me : the crow calls the *koil's* voice harsh. The goose ridicules the swan, and the frog the *chátaḥ* ; so the low and vile abuse pure verse. As they have no taste for poetry nor love for Ráma, I am glad that they should laugh. If my homely speech and poor wit are fit subjects for laughter, let them laugh ; it is no fault of mine. If they have no understanding of true devotion to the Lord, the tale will seem insipid enough : but to the true and orthodox worshippers of Hari and Hara the story of Raghubar will be sweet as honey. The singer's devotion

* The four *ákaras*, or modes of birth are named *Pindaja* or viviparous ; *andaja* or oviparous ; *swedaja*, born in sweat like lice ; and *udbhija*, produced by sprouting, like a tree. The 84 lakhs of species are divided as follows : 9 lakhs of aquatic creatures, 27 lakhs of those attached to the earth, 11 lakhs of insects, 10 lakhs of birds, 23 lakhs of quadrupeds, and 4 lakhs of men. The literal meaning of *ákara* being a mine, *khaní* which has the same primary signification, is used for it in *Chaupdi* 44.

to Ráma will by itself be sufficient embellishment to make the good hear and praise his melody. Though no poet, nor clever, nor accomplished ; though unskilled in every art and science ; though all the elegant devices of letters and rhetoric, and the countless variations of metre, and the infinite divisions of sentiment and style, and all the defects and excellencies of verse and the gift to distinguish between them are unknown to me, I declare and record it on a fair white sheet—

Dohá 13.

That though my style has not a single charm of its own, it has a charm known throughout the world, which men of discernment will ponder as they read—

Chaupái.

The gracious name of Raghupati ; all-purifying essence of the Puránas and the Veda, abode of all that is auspicious, destroyer of all that is inauspicious, ever murmured in prayer by Umá and the great Tripurári. The most elegant composition of the most talented poet gives no pleasure, if the name of Ráma is not in it ; in the same way as a lovely woman adorned with the richest jewels is vile if unclothed. But the most worthless production of the feeblest versifier, if adorned with the name of Ráma, is heard and repeated with reverence by the wise, like bees gathering honey : though the poetry has not a single merit, the glory of Ráma is manifested in it. This is the confidence which has possessed my soul : is there anything which good company fails to exalt ? Thus smoke forgets its natural pungency, and with incense yields a sweet scent. My language is that in vulgar use, but my subject is the highest, the story of Ráma, enrapturing the world.

*Chhand 1.**

Though rapturous lays befit his praise, who cleansed a world accurst,
Yet Tulsi's rivulet of song may slake a traveller's thirst.
How pure and blest on Siva's breast shew the vile stains of earth !
So my poor song flows bright and strong illumed by Ráma's worth.

Dohá 14. 15.

From its connection with the glory of Ráma, my verse will be most grateful to every one ; when you apply sandal to your forehead, do you think of it as merely a production of wood ? Though a cow be black, its milk is pure and wholesome and all men drink it ; and so, though my speech is

* A *Chhand* is generally a somewhat enthusiastic outburst, in which the oft-repeated rhyme is a little apt to run away with the sense. Whenever one occurs, I shall indicate its special character by giving it a metrical version. Its first line always repeats some word that occurred in the last line of the preceding stanza.

rough, it tells the glory of Sítá and Ráma, and will therefore be heard and repeated with pleasure by sensible people.

Chaupái.

A diamond in a serpent's head, a ruby on a mountain top, a pearl in an elephant's head are all without beauty; but in a king's diadem or on a lovely woman they are lustrous in the extreme. Similarly, as wise men tell, poetry is born below, but inspired from above; for it is in answer to pious prayer that the muse leaves her heavenly abode and speeds to earth; without immersion in the fountain of Ráma's deeds, all labour and trouble count for nothing. A sensible poet understands this, and sings only of Hari, the redeemer, and his virtues. To recount the doings of common people is mere idle beating of the head, which the muse loaths. Genius is as it were a shell in the sea of the soul, waiting for the October rain of Inspiration; if a gracious shower falls, each drop is a pearl of poetry:

Dohá 16.

Then dexterously pierced and strung together on the thread of Ráma's adventures, they form a beautiful chain to be worn on a good man's breast.

Chaupái.

Men born in this grim iron age are outwardly swans, but inwardly as black as crows; walking in evil paths, abandoning the Veda, embodiments of falsehood, vessels of impurity, hypocrites, professing devotion to Ráma, but slaves of gold, of passion and of lust. Among them I give the first place to myself, a hypocrite alas! of the very first rank; but were I to tell all my vices, the list would so grow that it would have no end. I have therefore said but very little, but a word is enough for the wise. Let none of my hearers blame me for offering so many apologies; whoever is troubled in mind by them is more stupid and dull of wit than I am myself. Though I am no poet and have no pretensions to cleverness, I sing as best I can the virtues of Ráma. How unfathomable his actions, how shallow my poor world-entangled intellect! Before the strong wind that could uproot mount Meru, of what account is such a mere flock of cotton as I am? When I think of Ráma's infinite majesty, I tremble as I write.

Dohá 17.

For Sarasvati, Sesh-nág, Siva and Brahma, the Shástras, the Veda, the Puránas, all are unceasingly singing his perfection, yet fail to declare it.

Chaupái.

All know the greatness of the Lord, yet none can refrain from repeating it. For this reason the Veda also has declared many different modes of effectual worship. There is one God, passionless, formless, uncreated, the

universal soul, the supreme spirit, the all-pervading, whose shadow is the world ; who has become incarnate and done many things, only for the love that he bears to his faithful people ; all-gracious and compassionate to the humble ; who in his mercy has refrained from anger even against the selfish and forward ; restorer of the past ; protector of the poor ;* all good, all-powerful, the Lord Raghuráj. In this belief the wise sing the glory of Hari ; and their song thus becomes holy and meritorious. I, too, bowing my head to Ráma's feet, am emboldened to sing his fame, following a path which has been made easy by the divine bards who have trodden it before me :

Dohá 18.

• As when a king has prepared a bridge over a broad stream, an ant, insignificant as it is, is able to cross without difficulty.

Chaupái.

In this manner reassuring myself, I undertake to recount Ráma's charming adventures, as they have been reverently told by Vyása and the other great poets, whose lotus-feet I adore, praying, Fulfil ye my desire ; both the Sanskrit poets of these latter days who have sung of Raghupati, and also those of high intelligence who have written in Prákrit and the vulgar tongue. All who have been in time past, or who now are, or who hereafter shall be, I bow to all in the utmost good faith and sincerity. Be propitious and grant this boon that in assemblies of good men my song may be honoured ! If the good and wise will not honour it, the silly poet has had all his labour in vain. The only fame, or poetry, or power, that is of any worth, is that which like Ganges water is good for all. The incongruity between Ráma's glory and my rude speech makes me doubt ; but by your favour all will turn out well ; for good sewing can be shown on coarse cloth no less than on silk. Be kind enough to think of this, and my style will then match the excellence of my theme.

Dohá 19.

A clear style and an exalted theme are both commendable ; and when they are combined, an enemy even, forgetting his natural hostility, will repeat the strain. But such a combination is not to be acquired without genius, and genius I have none ; so again and again I beg of you to bear with me while I sing the glory of Hari. The great poets are like the swans sporting in the Mánasa lake of Hari's deeds ; look on me as a well-meaning child and make allowances.†

* *Gharīb-nawáz.* This is the first Persian word that has occurred in the poem.

† In Hindi poetry it is considered a beauty if a phrase is so worded as to be capable of two or more different interpretations. Thus the line rendered as above may be literally translated : Hearing my childish supplication, seeing my good desire, be compassionate towards me—which is the meaning I have expressed. But it might with

Soratha 2.

I reverence the lotus-feet of the great sage who composed the Rámáyana, smooth strains on rough topics and faultless though a story of the faulty.* I reverence the four Vedas, which are like a boat in which to cross the ocean of existence, without ever dreaming of weariness, while recounting Ráma's excellent glory. I reverence the dust on the feet of Brahma, creator of this ocean-like world, from which have been produced men, good and bad; as of old from the same source came at once ambrosia, the moon, and the cow Kámadhenu, and also poison and intoxicating liquor.

Dohá 20.

Reverencing with clasped hands gods, Bráhmans, philosophers and sages, I pray: 'Be gracious to me and accomplish all my fair desire.'

Chaupái.

Again, I reverence the Sarasvati and the Ganges, both holy and beautiful streams, cleansing sin by a single draught or immersion, whose name as soon as uttered or heard at once removes error. I adore as I would my guru, or my natural parents, Siva and Párvati, protectors of the humble, daily benefactors, servants and courtiers in attendance on Sítá's Lord, and in every way Tulsi's true friends; who in their benevolence and considering the degeneracy of the times have themselves composed many spells in a barbarous language, incoherent syllables and unintelligible mutterings, mysterious revelations of the great Siva.† By his patronage I may make my story an agreeable one, and by meditating on Siva and Párvati may relate Ráma's adventures in a way that will give pleasure. It is only by his favour that my verse can be beautified, as a dark night by the moon and stars. Whoever in a devout spirit, with intelligence and attention, hears or repeats this lay of mine, he shall become full of true love for Ráma, and cleansed from worldly stains shall enjoy heavenly felicity.

equal correctness be rendered: Hearing my childish supplication, seeing their excellent beauty, be compassionate towards me. It is sufficient to note this peculiarity once for all; but there are an immense number of lines, in which, though the meaning which I have adopted seems to me on the whole the one most appropriate to the context, it by no means follows that other interpretations are not, from the grammarian's point of view, equally correct.

* A literal rendering would be—Rough, soft, beautiful, faultless, full of faults. But there are two plays upon words; for *sakhar*, ordinarily 'rough' and therefore contrasted with *sakomal* soft, is also intended to bear the meaning—'relating to the demon Khar'; and similarly *dúshan sahít* 'full of faults' can be forced into meaning 'with the demon Dúshan.

† The allusion is to the magic spells and mystical formularies of the Tantras, which are for the most part mere strings of uncouth and utterly unmeaning words. They all purport to have been revealed by Siva himself to Párvati.

Dohá 21.

Whether I am awake or dreaming, if Siva and Gauri grant me their favour, then my words shall come true and this shall be the effect of my song, though it be in the vulgar tongue.

Chaupái.

I reverence the holy city of Ayudhyá and the river Sarjú cleansing from all earthly impurity. I salute also the inhabitants of the city, for whom the Lord had no little affection; seeing that he ignored all the sin of Sítá's calumniator and set men's minds at rest.* I reverence Kausalya, eastern heaven from which glory was diffused over the whole world; whence Raghupati arose as a lovely moon, giving joy to the world, but blighting like a frost the lotus leaves of vice. To King Dasarath and all his queens, incarnations of virtue and felicity, I make obeisance in word, deed, and heart, saying Be gracious to me as to a son or a servant, O parents of Ráma, that acme of greatness, ye in whose creation the creator surpassed himself.

Sorathá 3.

I reverence the king of Avadh, who had such true love for Ráma's feet, that when parted from his lord, his life snapped and parted too like a straw.

Chaupái.

I salute the king of Videha with all his court who had the greatest affection for Ráma; though he concealed his devotion under royal state, yet it broke out as soon as he saw him. Then next I throw myself at the feet of Bharat, whose constancy and devotion surpass description; whose soul like a bee thirsting for sweets was ever hovering round the lotus-feet of Ráma. I reverence too the lotus-feet of Lachhman, cool, comely and source of delight to their worshippers; whose glory is as it were the standard for the display of Ráma's pure emblazonment. Thou who, to remove the terrors of the world, didst become incarnate in the form of the thousand-headed serpent for the sake of the universe, be ever propitious to me, O son of Sumitra, ocean of compassion, store-house of perfection. I bow also to Ripusúdan (*i. e.* Satrugna) the generous hero, Bharat's constant companion; and to the conqueror Hanumán, whose glory has been told by Ráma himself—

* The calumniator was a dhobi, whose wife had gone away without asking his permission to her father's house and had stayed there three days. On her return her husband refused to take her in, saying, Do you think I am a Ráma who takes back his Sítá after she has been living for eleven months in another man's house? When this came to Ráma's ears, he showed his respect for the delicacy of his subjects by dismissing Sítá, and instead of punishing the dhobi promoted him to honour.

Sorāṭha 4.

The son of the Wind, of profound intelligence, like a consuming fire in the forest of vice, in whose heart Ráma, equipped with bow and arrows, has established his home.

Chaupái.

The monkey-lord, the king of bears and demons, Angad and all the monkey host, I throw myself at the benign feet of them all, for though contemptible in appearance they yet found Ráma. I worship all his faithful servants—whether birds, beasts, gods, men, or demons—all his unselfish adherents. I worship Sukadeva, Sanat-Kumára, Nárad, and the other sages of excellent renown, putting my head to the ground and crying, ‘My lords, be gracious to your servant.’ I propitiate the lotus-feet of Janak’s daughter, Jánaki, mother of the world, best beloved of the fountain of mercy, by whose grace I may attain to unclouded intelligence. Again in heart, in word and deed, I worship the all-worthy feet of Raghunáth, the glance of whose lotus eyes like an arrow from the bow rejoices his votaries by destroying all their misfortunes.

Dohá 22.

As a word and its meaning are inseparable, and as a wave cannot be distinguished from the water of which it is composed, the difference being only in the name; so with Ráma and Sítá, the refuge of the distressed, whom I adore.

Chaupái.

I adore the name of Ráma as borne by Raghubar,* the source of all light, whether of the fire, or the sun, or the moon; substance of the triune god; vital breath of the Veda; the passionless; the incomparable; the source of all good; the great spell muttered by Mahádev and enjoined by him as necessary to salvation even at Kási. By confessing its power, Ganes obtained the first place among the gods;† by its power, though he muttered it backwards, the great poet Válmiki attained to purity; by its repetition, after she had heard from Siva that it was equal to a thousand names,

* For there are two other Rámas, besides Ráma-chandra; viz. Parasu-ráma and Bala-ráma.

† According to the legend: the gods were disputing among themselves as to which of them should be accounted the first. To settle the matter, Brahma proposed that they all should race round the world. They started accordingly, each on the animal which he most delighted to ride; and Ganes being mounted, as was his custom, on nothing better than a rat, was of course soon left far behind. In his distress the sage Nárad appeared to him and suggested that he should write the word Ráma in the dust and pace round that, for in it was virtually included all creation. This he did and returned to Brahma who at once awarded him the prize.

Bhawáni was able to join her husband;* while he, Mahádev, in his delight on beholding her simple faith, assumed the woman, making that ornament of her sex the ornament of his own body. Again, it was by the power of this name that the poison swallowed by Mahádev was converted into ambrosia.

Dohá 23.

Devotion to Ráma, says Tulsi Dás, is like the rich season of the rains; but the two syllables of Ráma's name are best of all, like the months of Sáwan and Bhádon—

Chaupái.

Two sweet and gracious syllables, the eyes as it were of the soul, easy to remember, satisfying every wish, a gain in this world, and felicity in the next; most delightful to utter, to hear, or to remember; as dear to Tulsi as the inseparable Ráma and Lachhman. My love is inflamed as I speak of these mystic syllables, as intimately connected as the universal soul and the soul of man; twin brothers like Nara and Náráyan, preservers of the world, redeemers of the elect; bright jewels in the ears of beauteous Faith; pure and beneficent as the sun and the moon; like sweetness and contentment, the inseparable attributes of ambrosia; like the tortoise and serpent, supporters of the world; like the bee and the lotus of a pious soul; and as sweet to the tongue as Hari and Balaráma were sweet to Jasodá.

Dohá 24.

Like a royal umbrella or jewelled diadem over all the other letters of the alphabet shine the two consonants in Ráma's name.

Chaupái.

A name may be regarded as equivalent to what is named, the connection being such as subsists between a master and servant. Both name and form are shadows of the Lord, who rightly understood is unspeakable and uncreated. They are sometimes wrongly distinguished as greater and less; but the wise will understand my explanation of the difference between them. See now, the form is of less importance than the name; for without the name you cannot come to a knowledge of the form; if the very form be in your hand, still without knowing the name, it is not recognized; but meditate on the name without seeing the form, and your soul is filled with devotion.

* One day when Siva had finished eating, he called to his wife Párvati to come and take her food too before it got cold. She pleaded that she had not yet finished repeating, according to her daily wont, the thousand names of Vishnu; whereupon her husband instructed her that it would suffice if she said the mere name of 'Ráma' once, for that had as much virtue as all the thousand. She at once believed him and complied; and the god was so pleased at her ready faith that in her honour he assumed the Ardha-nári, or half-male, half-female form.

The mystery of name and form is unspeakable and cannot be told, but delightful to those who have intuition of it ; the name acting as a witness between the material and immaterial forms of the deity, and being a guide and interpreter to both.

Dohá 25.

Place the name of Ráma as a jewelled lamp at the door of your lips and there will be light, as you will, both inside and out.

Chaupái.

As his tongue repeats this name, the ascetic wakes to life, his thoughts free from passion and all detached from the world ; he enjoys the incomparable felicity of God, who is unspeakable, unblemished, without either name or form. Those who would understand mysteries, by repeating this name understand them ; the religious, who repeat this name absorbed in contemplation, become workers of miracles,* and acquire the power of rendering themselves invisible and the like ; those who repeat it when burdened with affliction are freed from their troubles and become happy. Thus there are in the world four kinds of Ráma-worshippers, all four good, holy and beneficent ; but of these four sages who trust in the name they are the most dear to the Lord who understand his mysteries. His name is great in the four Vedas and in the four ages of the world, but in this fourth age especially there is no other hope.

Dohá 26.

All free from sensual passions and absorbed in devout affection to Ráma, the soul disports itself like a fish in the ambrosial lake of his beloved name.

Chaupái.

The Supreme may be regarded both as devoid of all qualities and also as the quality of goodness ; in either aspect it is unspeakable, unfathomable, without beginning and without parallel. To my mind the name is greater than both forms, for by its own might it has brought both under its sway. My friends must not take this as an exaggeration on my part, for I say it confidently and with sincere devotion. The knowledge of the supreme is of two kinds, like fire which is either internal or visible ; each is in itself incomprehensible but is comprehended by means of the name ; and there-

* The miraculous powers that can be acquired by perfect saints, or siddhás, are reckoned as eight in number, and are called *animá*, *mahimá*, *garimá*, *taghimá*, *prápti*, *prákámya*, *isitwá*, and *vasittwá*. These words denote the faculty : 1st, of becoming infinitely small ; 2nd, of becoming infinitely great ; 3rd, of becoming infinitely heavy ; 4th, of becoming infinitely light ; 5th, of obtaining whatever one wishes ; 6th, of doing whatever one wishes ; 7th, of absolute supremacy ; 8th, of absolute subjugation.

fore I say that the name is greater than either Brahm or Ráma. For the one immortal, true, sentient, complete and blissful Brahm is all-pervading ; yet though such an unchangeable Lord is in our very soul, the whole creation is in slavery and wretchedness, till he is revealed in definite shape and is energized by the name ; as a jewel is not valued, till it is so called.

Doha 27.

Thus the virtue of the name is infinite and transcends the supreme ; and in my judgment is greater than Ráma himself.

Chaupái.

From the love that he bore to his followers, Ráma took the form of a man and by himself enduring misery secured their happiness. By incessantly and devoutly repeating his name, all the faithful may attain to felicity. Ráma himself redeemed only one woman, the ascetic's wife ;* but his name has corrected the errors of millions of sinners. To gratify the Rishi Viswamitra, Ráma wrought the destruction of Suketu's daughter Tádaká with her son Maricha and his army ; but as the sun puts an end to night, so his name has scattered all crime and pain and despair. In his own person Ráma broke the bow of Siva, but his glorious name has broken the fear of death ;† the Lord himself restored to life only the forest of Dandaka,‡ but his name has sanctified countless generations ; the son of Raghu destroyed many demons, but his name has destroyed all the evil of the world.

Doha 28.

Raghunáth conferred immortality on all his own faithful servants even down to the vulture Jatáyu ;§ but his name, precious theme of the Vedas, has delivered innumerable wretches.

Chaupái.

Ráma, as all men know, extended his protection to Sugríva and Vibhíshana ; but his name has protected countless supplicants, shining forth

* Ahalya, the wife of the Rishi Gautama, having been seduced by the god Indra, was cursed by her indignant lord and doomed to remain alone and invisible in the forest for thousands of years till Ráma should come and redeem her.

† Here is a play upon words which cannot be preserved in the translation ; for in the first half of the couplet the word *bhava* is to be taken as a name of Siva, while in the second half it means life ; or rather death ; since according to Hindu ideas all conscious life is merely a preparation for inevitable death.

‡ Dandaka is the name of the pathless forest near the Godavari, where Sítá was stolen away by Rávan.

§ The bird Jatáyu stopped the chariot in which Sítá was being carried off by Rávan and was mortally wounded by the giant, but he lived long enough to give Ráma tidings of his beloved. In return for his faithful services Ráma and Lakshman themselves performed his funeral rites.

gloriously in the world and the Veda. Ráma assembled a host of bears and monkeys and had no little trouble to build his bridge; his name can dry up the ocean of life; meditate thereon, O ye faithful. Ráma killed in battle Rávan and all his family and returned with Sítá* to his own city, a king to Avadh his capital, while gods and saints hymned his praises; but his servants, if only they affectionately meditate on his name, vanquish with ease the whole army of error, and move, absorbed in interior ecstasy, without even a dream of sorrow.

Dohá 29.

The Name is greater than either Brahm or Ráma, and is the best gift of the best giver; this Mahádev knew when he selected it from the hundred *crores*† of verses in the Rámáyana.

Chaupái.

By the power of this name the blessed god of curst attire, even the great Siva, acquired immortality; by the power of this name Sukadeva, Sanat-kumára, and all saints, sages and ascetics have enjoyed heavenly raptures; Nárad too acknowledged its power, himself as dear to Hara and Hari as Hari is dear to the world; by repeating this name Prahlád through the Lord's grace became the crown of the faithful.‡ Dhruva in his distress repeated the name of Hari, and was rewarded by a fixed and incomparable station in the heavens;§ by meditating on this holy name Hanumán won and kept the affection of Ráma; by the power of Hari's name Ajámil|| and

* Sugriva, the monkey chief, assisted Ráma in his search for Sítá by shewing him the ornaments she had purposely dropped on the way; and Ráma rewarded him by installing him as sovereign of Kishkindyá in the place of his brother Báli. Similarly, Vibhishana was made king of Lanká in the room of Rávan.

† Of these hundred crores it is said that Siva distributed 33 crores to each of the three worlds. The one crore that remained over he similarly divided into three sets of 33 lákhs each; the odd lákhs into three sets of 30 thousand each; the odd thousand again into three sets of three hundred each; the odd hundred into three sets of thirty-three each and finally the one remaining *sloka* into three sets of ten letters each. The two letters that remained over, being the two consonants in the name of Ráma, he kept for himself as containing the gist of the whole matter.

‡ Prahlád, the pious son of the impious Hiranya-Kasipu who was destroyed by Vishnu in the Narsinh avatar, was made equal to Indra for life and finally united with Vishnu.

§ Dhruva, the son of Uttánápáda, being slighted by his step-mother, left his home with the determination of winning himself a name in the world. By the advice of the seven Rishis, he devoted himself to the service of Vishnu, and was finally exalted by the god to the heavens, where he shines as the pole-star.

|| According to the history given in the 6th Skandha of the *Srí Bhágavat*, Ajámil was a Bráhmaṇ of Kanauj, of most dissolute and abandoned life. By a happy chance the youngest of the ten sons whom he had by a prostitute was named Náráyan; and the father when at the point of death happened to summon him to his side. But the

the elephant and the harlot all three obtained salvation : why farther extend the list ? not even the incarnate Ráma could exhaust it.

Dohá 30.

The name of Ráma is as the tree of Paradise, the centre of all that is good in the world ; and whoever meditates upon it, becomes (says Tulsi Dás) transformed as it were from a vile hemp stick into a sweet smelling Tulsi plant.

Chaupái.

In all four ages of the world ; in all time, past, present, or future ; in the three spheres of earth, heaven and hell ; any creature that repeats this name becomes blessed. This is the verdict of the Veda, the Puránas and all the saints—that the love of Ráma is the fruit of all virtue. In the first age, contemplation ; in the second age, sacrifice ; in the Dvápár age, temple worship was the appointed propitiation ; but in this vile and impure iron age, where the soul of man floats like a fish in an ocean of sin, in these fearful times, the Name is the only tree of life, and by meditating on it all commotion is stilled. In these evil days neither good deeds, nor piety, nor spiritual wisdom is of any avail, but only the name of Ráma : his name is as it were the wisdom and the might of Hanumán to expose and destroy the Kálanemi-like* wiles of the wicked world.

god Náráyan, thus casually invoked, himself came in answer to the call, and rescued the guilty soul from the demons that were about to carry it off to hell,

The story of the elephant is given in the 8th Skandha of the same Purána. An alligator had seized him by the foot while bathing, and though he struggled desperately for 2000 years, he was unable to rid himself of his enemy, and at last was deserted by all his wives and children. He then began to give himself up for lost ; but reflecting on the pertinacity of the alligator he came to the conclusion that the creature must be the embodiment of all the sins he had committed in previous existences and that god alone could save him. He therefore addressed a fervent prayer to Náráyan, who thus invoked by name came down from heaven and with his discus Sudarsan cut off the alligator's head and delivered the suppliant.

The 8th Chapter of the 11th Skandha gives the story of the penitent prostitute Pingalá.

* Kálanemi was the uncle of Rávan, who promised him half his kingdom if he would kill Hanumán. Accordingly he assumed the garb of a devotee and retired to a solitary hermitage on a mountain-top, where in course of time he was visited by Hanumán. The latter accepted the hospitality of the holy man, as he took him to be, but before eating went to a pond close by to bathe. Here as soon as he put his foot in the water, it was seized by a crocodile, which, however, he soon killed, and out of its dead body sprung a beautiful nymph, who had long been under a curse. She bade him beware of Kálanemi, who was sitting deep in thought and already enjoying in anticipation the kingdom which he made sure he had secured. His dream was rudely broken by Hanumán who seized him in his strong arm, and hurled him headlong through the air, till he fell at Rávan's feet in Lanká.

Dohá 31.

As Narsinh was manifested to destroy the enemy of heaven Haranyakasipu, and protect Prahlád, so is Ráma's name for the destruction of the world and the protection of the pious.

Chaupái.

By repeating this name, whether in joy or in sadness, in action or in repose, bliss is diffused all around. Meditating upon it and bowing my head to Raghunáth, I compose these lays in his honour; he will correct all my defects, whose mercy is mercy inexhaustible. Thou art my good Lord, I thy poor servant; bear this in mind and graciously protect me. By the experience of the world and the revelation of the Veda, Ráma is known as a kind master, hearing prayer and acknowledging affection. Rich or poor, villager or citizen, learned or unlearned, pure or impure, good poet or bad poet, all according to their ability extol him as their king; and he, good, amiable and gracious, lord of incomparable compassion, hears and accepts their honest attempts, recognizing in their words both devotion and a measure of ability. This is the way with earthly kings, and Ráma is their crown; he is satisfied with simple piety though in one who is duller and feebler of intellect even than I am.

Dohá 32-33.

The merciful Ráma will regard the love and zeal of his poor servant, he who made a ship out of a rock and wise ministers out of monkeys and bears; although I am a bye-word, and every one says Ráma is exposed to ridicule in that he, being such a lord, has such a servant as Tulsi Dás.

Chaupái.

My presumption is indeed very sad, as villanous and disgusting as hell; but seeing me alarmed with these terrors of my own, Ráma would not dream of regarding them; but hearing and with his own eyes perceiving my good faith, the Lord applauded my devout intention. Though my story is spoilt by the telling, Ráma is satisfied and accounts it good, since the will is good. The Lord is not mindful of a chance fault, but on every occasion he considers the heart. Thus the very crime, for which he, like a huntsman killed Báli, was in turn the sin of Sugríva and again of Vibhishan; but in their case Ráma did not dream of censure, but honoured them both at the meeting with Bharat and commended them in open court.

Dohá 34-36.

The lord under the tree and the monkey on the bough he accounted all equal to himself: says Tulsi, there is no master so generous as Ráma. O Ráma, thy goodness is good to all, and if so, then good to Tulsi also. Thus

declaring my merits and defects and again bowing my head to all, I proceed to tell the glorious acts of Raghubar, by the sound of which all the sin of the world is effaced.

Chaupái.

Now listen all in friendly wise while I relate the story as I have heard it, as it was communicated by Yájñavalkya to the great sage Bharadvāja. It was first of all composed by Siva and graciously revealed to Umá and again declared to Káka-bhusundi, known to be chief among the votaries of Ráma. From him Yájñavalkya received it, and he recited it to Bharadvāja. These listeners and reciters were of equal virtue and had an equal insight into Hari's sportive actions. Their intellect comprehended all time, as it were a plum in the palm of the hand; other intelligent votaries of Hari have also in different ways heard, understood and spoken.

Dohá 37-38.

I again heard the story from my own master at Súkarkhet, (*i. e.* Soron)* without understanding it, when I was quite a child and had no sense. And how could such a dull creature, being both ignorant and eaten up with worldly impurities, understand so mysterious a legend and a dialogue between such sage interlocutors.

Chaupái.

But my master repeated it time after time, till at length I understood as much as could be expected; and I now put it down in the vulgar tongue, as well as my understanding allows me; with my heart fixed on Hari's messenger (*i. e.* Hanumán), I speak with all the little sense, judgment and ability that I possess. The story that I have to tell clears my own doubts as it does every other error and delusion, and is a raft on which to cross the ocean of existence. The story of Ráma is a resting-place for the intellect; a universal delight; a destroyer of worldly impurity; an antidote to the venom of passion; a match to enkindle the fire of wisdom; the cow of plenty of this iron age; flowers of ambrosia to make good men immortal; a stream of nectar on the face of the earth; destroyer of death; a snake to devour toad-like error; befriending the good by the destruction of hell, in the same way as Párvati befriended the gods by destroying the army of demons; like Lakshmi rising from the sea in the assembly of the saints; immovable as the earth that supports all the weight of creation; like the Jamuná, to put to shame the angel of death; like Kási the saviour of all living creatures; as dear to Ráma as the pure Tulsi; as dear to Tulsi

* Soron, the modern name, is a corruption of Súkara-gráma (Boar-town). The place is still much frequented by pilgrims; the principal concourse being on the festival of the Varáha (or Boar) avatár. Súkara-gráma = Súar-gánw = Súarānw = Soron.

Dás as his own heart's desire ; as dear to Siva as the daughter of Mount Mekal (*i. e.* the Narmada) bestower of all perfection and prosperity ; like Aditi gracious mother of all the gods ; the perfect outcome of love and devotion to Raghubar.

Dohá 39.

The story of Ráma is as the river Mandákini and a good intention like Mount Chitrakút, while sincere affection is as it were the forest where Ráma and Sítá love to abide.

Chaupái.

The legend of Ráma is like the delectable wishing-stone ; or as fair jewels to adorn Wisdom, the saint's bride ; His perfection is the joy of the world, conferring a state of virtue, wealth and eternal salvation ;* is a saintly instructor in wisdom, asceticism, and spiritual contemplation ; like the physician of the gods to heal the fearful diseases of life ; the very parent of devotion to Sítá and Ráma ; the seed of all holy vows and practices ; the destroyer of sin, of pain and of sorrow ; our guardian in this world and the next ; the Prime Minister and the General of Kingly Counsel ; a very Agastya† to drink up the illimitable ocean of desire ; a young lion in the forest of life to attack the wild elephants of lust, anger and sensual impurity ; as dear to Siva as the presence of a highly-honoured guest ; as an abundant shower to quench the fire of meanness ; a potent spell against the venom of the world ; effacing from the forehead the deep brand of evil destiny ; dispelling the darkness of error like the rays of the sun ; like a shower on a rice-field refreshing the aridity of prayer ; like the tree of Paradise, granting every desire ; like Hari and Hara accessible and gracious to all servants ; like the stars in the clear autumn sky of the poet's mind ; like the richness of life enjoyed by Ráma's votaries ; like the perfect felicity that is the reward of virtue ; like the assembly of the faithful in benevolence and composure ; like a swan in the pure lake of the believer's soul ; like the abundant flood of Ganga's purifying stream.

* The reading of all the copies I have seen is *Dáni mukti dhan dharm dhám ke* ; and this accordingly I have translated. But *dhám* might, with advantage, be corrected to *kám*, in which case the enumeration would be the ordinary four-fold one of the ends of human existence viz. *dharm, kám, artha, moksha*, 'religion, pleasure, wealth and final salvation.' It is, however, possible that Tulsi may purposely have suppressed *kám*, pleasure, as unworthy to be accounted a *telos* ; though in many other passages he includes it. *Dhám* may also be translated the Supreme Being, in which sense it gives a name to the sect of the Dhámis, or disciples of Prán Náth.

† As Agastya was one day worshipping by the sea-side, a wave came and washed away some of his altar furniture ; whereupon in three draughts he drank the whole ocean dry.

Dohá 40-41.

Ráma's perfect merit is like a strong fire to consume the dry wood of schism and heresy, evil practices and worldly deceit, hypocrisy and infidelity. His acts are like the rays of the full moon that give pleasure to all, but are specially consoling to the souls of the pious like the lotus and the *chakor*.

Chaupái.

All the questions that Bhawáni asked, with Sankara's replies thereto, I now proceed to give in substance, with agreeable diversity of style. No one is to be astonished if he should happen not to have heard any particular legend before; for a wise man on hearing for the first time any marvellous act will feel no surprise, reasoning thus with himself: I know well that there is no limit in the world to the stories about Ráma, for he has in various forms become incarnate, and the verses of the Rámáyana are some thousand millions in number; his glorious acts are of myriad diversity and have been sung by sages in countless ways. So indulge no doubts, but listen reverently and devoutly.

Dohá 42.

Ráma is infinite, his perfections infinite, and his legends of immeasurable extent; men of enlightened understanding will therefore wonder at nothing they hear.

Chaupái.

Having in this manner put away all doubt, I place on my head the dust from the lotus-feet of my master, and with folded hands making a general obeisance, that no fault may attach to my telling of the story, and bowing my head reverently before Siva, I proceed to sing of Ráma's excellent glory. In this *Sambat* year of 1631, I write with my head at Hari's feet, on Tuesday the 9th of the sweet month of Chait at the city of Avadh; on the day when the Scriptures say Ráma was born; when the spirits of all holy places there assemble, demons, serpents, birds, men, saints and gods, and there offer homage to Raghunáth, while the enlightened keep the great birth-day festival and hymn Ráma's high glory.

Dohá 43.

Pious crowds bathe in the all-purifying stream of the Sarjú, and murmur Ráma's name, while his dark and beautiful form is imprinted on their heart.

Chaupái.

The Vedas and Puránas declare that sin is cleansed by the mere sight or touch of this holy stream as well as by bathing in or drinking of it. Its

immeasurable grandeur is indescribable even by the pure intelligence of Sarasvati. The city, exalting to Ráma's heaven,* beautiful, celebrated through all worlds, is so all-purifying that countless as are the number of animate species that result from the four modes of birth, yet every individual that is freed from the body at Avadh is free for ever. Knowing it to be in every way charming, a bestower of success and a mine of auspiciousness, I there made a beginning of my sacred song, which will destroy in those who hear it the mad phrenzy of lust: its mere name—lake of Ráma's acts—serves to refresh the ear, while the soul, like an elephant escaping from a forest on fire with lust, plunges into it and gains relief; delight of the sages, as composed by Sambhu, holy and beautiful; consuming the three ill conditions of sin, sorrow and want; putting an end to the evil practices and impurities of the wicked world; first made by Mahádeva and buried in the deep lake of his own soul till at an auspicious moment he declared it to Umá; thus Siva looking into his own soul and rejoicing gave it the excellent name of Rám-charit-mánas.† And this is the blessed legend that I repeat; hear it, good people, reverently and attentively.

Dohá 44.

Now meditating upon Umá and him who has a bull emblazoned on his standard (*i. e.* Mahádeva) I explain the connection, shewing how it is a lake and in what manner it is formed and for what reason it has spread through the world.‡

Charupái.

By the blessing of Sambhu a bright idea has come into the poet Tulsi's mind regarding the Rám-charit-mánas, which I will state as well as I can, subject to the correction of those good people whose attention I invite. The heart is as it were a deep place in a land of good thoughts, the Vedas and Puránas are the sea, and saints are as clouds, which rain down praises of Ráma in sweet, grateful and auspicious showers; the sportive actions related of him are like the inherent purity and cleansing power of rain-water, while devotion, which is beyond the power of words to describe, is its sweetness and coolness. When such a shower falls on the rice-fields of vir-

* The compound may also mean,—giving a home to Ráma—and probably both meanings are intended.

† From this it will be seen that the name which Tulsi Dás himself gave to his poem was not 'the Rámáyana,' but the Rám-charit-mánas; a name which may be interpreted to mean either the lake or the soul of Ráma's acts. In the stanza above translated, the word is first taken in the one sense, and then in the other; and as there is no English word with the same double signification, some obscurity is unavoidable.

‡ The words may also bear the following secondary meaning: I relate the whole history, shewing how the great soul became incarnate and why it dwelt in the world.

tue, it gives new life to the faithful, and as its holy drops fall to the earth they are collected in the channel supplied by the ears, and flowing into the lake of the soul fill it and then settle down permanently cool, beautiful and refreshing.

Dohá 45.

This pure and holy lake has four beautiful *gháts*, viz. the four charming dialogues contrived by divine wisdom :

Chaupái.

The seven Books are its beautiful flights of steps which the eyes of the soul delight to look upon ; the unqualified and unsullied greatness of Raghupati may be described as its clear and deep expanse. The glory of Ráma and Sítá as its ambrosial water ; the similes as its pretty wavelets ; the stanzas as its beautiful lotus-beds ; the elegance of expression as lovely mother-of-pearl ; the *chhands*, *sorathas* and couplets as many-coloured lotus flowers ; the incomparable sense, sentiment and language as the lotus-pollen, filaments and fragrance ; the exalted action as beautiful swarms of bees ; the sage moral reflections as swans ; the rhythm, involutions and all poetical artifices as diverse graceful kinds of fish ; the precepts regarding the four ends of life, the wise sayings, the thoughtful judgments, the nine styles of composition,* the prayers, penance, abstraction and asceticism, of which examples are given, are all the beautiful living creatures in the lake ; the eulogies on the faithful, the saints, and the holy name are like flocks of water-birds ; the religious audience are like circling mango groves and their faith like the Spring season ; the expositions of all the phases of devotion and of tenderness and generosity are like the trees and canopying creepers ; self-denial and holy vows are as flowers, and wisdom as the fruit ; the love for Hari's feet as the sound of the Vedas ; and all other stories and episodes as the parrots and cuckoos and many kinds of birds.

Dohá 46.

Pleasant is the sporting of the birds in grove, garden, or parterre, where good intention like a gardener bedews the eyes with the water of affection.

Chaupái.

Those who accurately recite these lays are like the diligent guardians of the lake ; the men and women who reverently hear them, these excellent

* The 9 poetical styles (or Indian Muses) are the *Sringár-ras*, or erotic ; the *Hásya-ras*, or comic ; the *Karuná-ras*, or elegiac ; the *Bír-ras*, or heroic ; the *Raudra-ras*, or tragic ; the *Bhayának-ras*, or melancholic ; the *Vibhatsa-ras*, or satiric ; the *Shánt-ras*, or didactic ; and the *Adbhut-ras*, or sensational.

people are like its owners. Sensual wretches are like the cranes and crows that have no part in this pond nor ever come near it; for here are no prurient and seductive stories like the snails, frogs, and scum on the water, and therefore the lustful crow and greedy crane, if they do come, are disappointed. There is much difficulty in getting to this lake, and it is only by the favour of Ráma that any one reaches it. For there are difficulties of evil society; rocks of heresy; wicked words like tigers, lions, and serpents; the various intanglements of domestic affairs, like vast insurmountable mountains; sensual desires like a dense forest full of wild delusions; and unsound reasoning like a raging flood.

Dohá 47.

For those who have not the support of faith nor the company of the saints, nor fervent love for Raghunáth; for them this lake is very hard of access.

Chaupái.

Again, if any one laboriously makes his way to it, but becomes overpowered by sleep and feverishness, a strange torpor and numbness settle on his soul, and though he is on the spot the luckless wretch makes no ablution. Having neither bathed in the lake nor drunk of it, he goes away in his pride, and when some one comes to enquire of him he abuses it. But those who by the blessing of Ráma gaze upon it, and deterred by no difficulties, reverently bathe, are relieved from the fierce flames of sin, sorrow and pain, and being sincerely devoted to Ráma will never abandon it. If, my friend, you would bathe in this lake, be diligent to keep company with the good. As for myself, having thus with the mind's eye contemplated it, my poetical faculty has become clear and profound, my heart swells with joy and rapture and overflows in a torrent of ecstatic devotion. My song pours on like a river flooded with Ráma's bright renown; like the river Sarju, fountain of bliss, with religion and theology for its two fair banks; a holy stream rejoicing the pious soul (*or* born of the Mánaś lake) sweeping away all worldly impurities like the trees and roots on its bank.

Dohá 48.

The three kinds of hearers in the assembly are like the towns, villages and hamlets on the river side, while the saints are like the incomparable city of Avadh, full of all that is auspicious.

Chaupái.

The beautiful Sarju, as it were the glory of Ráma, has united with the Ganges of devotion, and the magnificent river Son, like the warlike power of Ráma and his brother, has joined them as a third. Between the two, the Ganges stream of devotion shines clear in its wisdom and self-control, while

the combined flood destroying the triple curse of humanity, is absorbed in the mighty ocean of very Ráma. The united stream of the Mánaś-born Sarju and the Ganges purifies the pious listener, while the various tales and episodes interspersed here and there are the groves and gardens on its opposite banks; the description of the marriage and wedding procession of Umá and Siva are like the innumerable fish in the water; the joy and gladness that attended Ráma's birth are like beautiful swarms of bees.

Dohá 49.

The childish sports of the four brothers are like the stores of goodly merchandise; the virtuous king and queen and their court like the bees and water-birds.

Chaupái.

The charming story of Sítá's marriage like the bright gleam of the flashing river; the many ingenious questions like the boats on the stream; the appropriate and judicious answers like the boatmen; again, the argumentative discussions show like crowding travellers; the wrath of Bhrigunáth like the rushing torrent; Ráma's soft speech like the well arranged gháts; the marriage festivities of Ráma and Lakshman like the grateful swell of the tide; the thrill of pleasure that spreads through the delighted audience like the ecstatic feelings of the virtuous bathers; the auspicious preparations for marking Rama's forehead with the *tilak* like the crowds assembled on holidays; and like the river mud is Kaikeyi's evil counsel, the cause of many calamities.

Dohá 50.

Like prayers and sacrifices effectual to remove every misfortune are Bharat's virtuous acts; while the corruptions of the world, and sinful men, and slanderers are like the scum on the water and the cranes and crows.

Chaupái.

This river of glory is beautiful in each of the six seasons, bright and holy exceedingly at all times. In winter there is the marriage of Siva with the daughter of the snowy mountains; in the dewy days the glad rejoicings at the Lord's birth; the account of the preparations for Ráma's wedding are for the delightful and auspicious spring; Ráma's intolerable banishment, the story of his rough journeyings and exposure to the sun and wind are the hot-weather; his encounters with fierce demons, by which he gladdens the hosts of heaven, are like the rains that refresh the fields; the prosperity of his reign, his meekness and greatness, are like the clear, bountiful and lovely autumn*; the recital of the virtues of Sítá, that jewel of

* The six Hindu seasons, to which allusion is here made, are Hemant, winter; Sisir, the early spring; Basant, the spring; Gríshma, the hot weather; Varshá, the rains; and Sarad, the autumn.

faithful wives, is as the undefiled and excellent water; the amiability of Bharat as its unvarying coolness.

Dohá 51.

Their looks and words at meeting, their mutual love and laughter, the true fraternal affection of the four brothers are as the water's sweet odour.

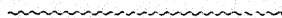
Chaupái.

My suppliant address and self-depreciation and modesty correspond to the singular lightness of good water, which is anything but a defect. This marvellous lymph works its effect by the mere hearing, quenching the thirst of desire and cleansing the soul of impurity; it resuscitates true love to Ráma and puts an end to all the sin and sorrow of the world, draining life of its weariness, comforting with true comfort, destroying sin and pain and poverty and error, dispelling lust and passion and phrenzy and infatuation, and promoting pure intelligence and detachment from the world. Those who reverently drink or bathe in this stream, from their soul is effaced all sin and distress; those who do not cleanse their heart in it are wretches whom the world has ruined, turning back, hapless creatures! like a panting deer that has seen a river in a mirage.

Dohá 52-54.

Thus have I declared to the best of my ability the virtues of this excellent water, and having plunged my own soul in it, and ever remembering Bhawáni and Sankara I proceed with my delectable story. I will first repeat in substance the original conversation, with the questions put by Bharadvāja when he found the Muni Yajnavalkya; and laying my soul at the lotus feet of Raghupati and thus securing his patronage, I will sing the meeting of the two great saints and their auspicious discourse.

Thus ends the Prologue and from here the real action of the poem commences.



On Early Asiatic Fire Weapons.—By MAJOR-GENERAL
R. MACLAGAN, R. E.

The use of fire in some form or other in war, must have suggested itself to fighting people at a very early period in all countries, and has probably been practised in all ages, both for attack and for defence. To carry fire and sword into an enemy's territory is the common representation of active and desolating aggression. And from the simple and direct application of fire to the destruction of dwellings and other property, it was a natural step to devise ways of applying it from a distance by means of burning matter attached to missiles.

In our day the term *fire-arms* is applied to weapons which, by means of explosive matter, project heavy bodies to a distance, though no fire may be carried by the missile itself. Early fire weapons in all countries sent the fire with the missile, discharging it by the mechanical appliances in ordinary use for throwing missiles of other kinds.

When the use of igneous projectiles of any kind came to be commonly practised, endeavour was then made to devise means of projecting them with force that they might reach to a greater distance; and, at the same time, of making them as tenacious as possible of the fire they carried, and as violent as possible in their combustion. Success in the first of these objects would, with the more ordinary inflammable materials, defeat the second,* and a great advantage was gained by the use, for this purpose, of combustibles of some more powerful kind.

The earliest kinds of fire-missiles appear to have been much the same everywhere—arrows tipped with oiled flax, or wrapped with some soft matter soaked in oil, and discharged in the ordinary way from bows. Such was the simple contrivance which, nearly five centuries before our era, the Persians who had occupied Mars Hill, made use of to fire the palisades of the defenders of the Acropolis.† And such, probably with little variation, were the fire-arrows‡ that were used in all countries for some hundreds of years. After a time, the improvement was introduced of putting the fire in a small perforated case, or hollow enlargement of the shaft, a little behind the point, which was roughly barbed to make it hold hard in the object assailed and keep the fire applied so long as it lasted. This was the *malleolus*, as

* So with one of the early forms of fire-arrow,—*Et si emissa lentius arcu invalido (ictu enim rapidiore exstinguitur) haeserit usquam, tenaciter cremat, &c.* Ammian. Marcell., XXIII, 4, 15 and XXIII, 6, 37.

† Herod., VIII. 52.

‡ Alluded to generally in Eph. vi. 16 as *βέλη πεπυραμένα*, and more or less specifically by various authors as *πυρφόροι διστοί*, *πυρφόρα τοξεύματα*, *τὰ πυροβόλα*, &c.

it was made in the fourth century ;* a missile which seems to have been familiar for a long time under that name,† and which was no doubt originally made hammer-headed in some sense, and afterwards had the fire case put into this more effective shape. It is of this improved missile that Ammianus says it had to be projected with only moderate force, as otherwise the fire was apt to go out in the course of its flight. The fire-bearing javelin (called *falarica*), which was thrown by hand or with greater force by a tormentum or twisted cord apparatus, either had the ignited matter wrapped round the point‡ or, like the malleolus, carried the fire in a metal case or cage.§ And from the war engines were also thrown vessels of combustibles by themselves.||

Each of these kinds of burning missiles acquired increased efficiency by the employment of materials giving a more effective and persistent flame ; and petroleum or naphtha, when obtainable, or other bituminous products, came to be used in place of the vegetable oils.¶ In countries in which these mineral oils are found, in some form or other, the effective character of the fire used in this way in war may be generally ascribed to the use of materials of this class. Naphtha appears to have been the first and chief of the materials used for producing the Greek Fire,** which was the most distinctive and destructive of the war-missiles of the middle ages in the East. Other inflammable substances, combined with naphtha or petroleum in the Greek Fire compositions, came next to be used in similar manner without the oil. And these dry compounds, of various proportions, used at first only in this way, reached their highest power and application when, in the form of gunpowder, the explosive material was employed not merely for the purpose of

* Amm. Marcell., XXIII, 4, 14.

† —plena omnia malleolorum ad urbis incendia (Cic., Pro Mil., XXIV).

‡ As used by the defenders of Saguntum against Hannibal :—ad extremum unde ferrum exstabat. Id sicut in pilo quadratum stuppa circumligabant lineabantque pice. (Liv. XXI, 8.) And the flame, it is stated, instead of being extinguished, gained increased force in its passage through the air.

§ Vegetius, De Re Militari, IV. XVIII.

¶ ἄγγεια πυρφόρα. Polyb., XXI, 5, 1. Arrian, Exp. Alex. I, 21, 22, 23 ; II, 19. Diod. Sic., XX, 4. Tac., Hist., II, 21. Virg., Æn., X, 130. 1. Maccab., VI, 51. Ockley, Hist. of the Saracens, 427).

¶ Bitumen, sulphur, picem liquidam, oleum quod incendiarium vocant ad exurendas hostium machinas, convenit praeeparare. Vegetius, De Re Militari, IV, 8, and V, 14. ἄγγεια δὲ θείου καὶ ἀσφάλτου ἐμπλησάμενοι καὶ φαρμάκου ὕπερ Μῆδοι μὲν νάφθαν καλοῦσιν, Ἕλληνες δὲ Μηδείας ἔλαιον. (Procopius, de Bell. Goth., quoted in Lalanne's Recherches sur le Feu Grégeois, p. 48).

** "It would seem that the principal ingredient of the Greek Fire was naphtha or liquid bitumen." Gibbon, Chap. LI.

feeding the fire in the projectile, but as the agent for discharging it. This last is the great step from medieval to modern artillery.

The advance from one kind of fire-missile and fire material to others more effective has not, there is reason to believe, been made by immediate invention or discovery. Local conditions have originated, and practical experience has extended and modified, the use of various preparations and contrivances for this purpose. M. Reinaud, in the work* issued jointly by him and Colonel Favé in 1845, has brought together a number of extracts from Arabic works giving receipts for the preparation of war-fire of sorts, showing that the compositions which it has been the custom to call *Greek Fire* were various, and that many of them contained one or two or all of the ingredients of gunpowder, before the times to which the invention of gunpowder is ordinarily ascribed. From these early receipts for fire-works and fire-missiles, and from the various accounts of Greek Fire and its effects, it would appear that modifications of these compositions, introduced from time to time, led up to the preparation of gunpowder; which yet was not what we understand by *gun-powder* till it came to be prepared in a form adapting it for use as the propelling agent in guns, and to be so used.

From very simple and rude arrangements for using the aid of fire in fighting, gradual progress in various ways had been generally made before gunpowder times; yet simple and rude arrangements continued to be used, even after better devices were known, when these were not available, or when the others were sufficient and suitable for the occasion. Sufficiently primitive was the method adopted by Timur, of carrying fire into the ranks of an enemy, when, in his battle before Dihlí in A. D. 1399, he caused a number of camels to be laden with dry grass and driven towards the opposing force with the grass set on fire, on sight of which the enemy's elephants fled.† This was a resort to a very rude contrivance at a time when modes of projecting fire to a distance were well known, and when fire was employed

* *Historie de l'Artillerie*, 1re partie. Du Feu Grégeois, &c., pp. 25 et seq. Some notices of the early use, among the Arabs, of the ingredients of gunpowder, are given in a "History of the Art of War and Organisation of Armies in Europe" by Dr. Hermann Meynert; a book I have not seen and only know of from a newspaper notice.

† This is one of the incidents of the Indian expedition related to Clavijo when he was residing at the court of Timur at Samarqand. (*Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour*, A. D. 1403-6, p. 153.) According to other accounts, they were buffaloes that he used, tied together in pairs with burning bushes between them (*Maurice's Modern History of Hindostan*, II, 20). Somewhat similar, but with a different purpose, was Hannibal's device when in camp before Q. Fabius Maximus, B. C. 200. *Obducta nocte, sarmenta in corpihus juvencorum deligata incendit, ejusque generis multitudinem magnam dispalatam immisit.* (*Corn. Nep., Hann. V.*)

of more effective kinds for creating the alarm that was desired. Such fire-missiles were familiar to Timur himself and his predecessors. At the siege of Otrár by Chingiz Khán, A. D. 1219, the defenders made good use of burning darts, to the injury of the besiegers' engines. The following year, in besieging the citadel of Bukhárá after gaining the town, he threw in pots of burning naphtha. He used Greek Fire in his attack on Khívá, the same year, and it was used by and against him on other occasions.* Timur eight years before his invasion of India, had made use of Greek Fire discharged from his boats in his attack on a small town on the shores of the Caspian.† In India he encountered fire missiles of other kinds at his attack on Bhatnúr, when "the besieged cast down in showers arrows and stones and fireworks upon the heads of the assailants."‡ Timur himself relates that Sulṭán Mahmúd, when he attacked him at Dihlí, had elephants covered with armour, most of them carrying howdas "in which were throwers of grenades (*ra'd-andáz*), fireworks (*átash-báz*), and rockets (*takhsh-andáz*)."*§* Timur, in his engagement with Báýazíd I., before Angora, three years after the Dihlí battle, had a special body of men for throwing Greek Fire.|| What was the nature of the various fireworks used by Sulṭán Mahmúd at Dihlí, and by the defenders of Bhatnúr, is not indicated. In the regions where Greek Fire was used by Chingiz and Timur, naphtha abounded or was readily obtainable, and it is, in some of the instances, named as the material used. There does not seem to be reason to believe that Timur was acquainted with gunpowder, as General Cunningham has supposed.¶ The use of Greek Fire, or of missiles answering to the descriptions of the fire generally so designated, was practised chiefly in countries where naphtha, petroleum, or bitumen, is produced, and more rarely elsewhere. It is stated that Edward I., when besieging Stirling Castle in 1304, after calling for large supplies of balistæ, quarrells, bows, and arrows, from York, Lincoln, and London, "gave orders for the employment of a new and dreadful instrument of destruction, the Greek Fire, with which he had probably become acquainted in the East."** There is nothing to show what the composition was, but it is most probable that this, as well as the fireworks which Timur encountered at Dihlí and at Bhatnúr, was composed of some of the *dry* materials used elsewhere combined with naphtha,—the ingredients of the future gunpowder.

* *Petis de la Croix, History of Genghiscan*, pp. 166, &c., and 190, &c., from Mírkhwánd and others.

† Life of Timour Beg, prefixed to Markham's translation of Clavijo.

‡ *Malfúzát i Tímúrá*, in Sir H. Elliot's *Historians of India*, by Prof. Dowson, III, 424.

§ The same, III, 439.

|| Langlès, *Vie de Timour*, p. 88, (quoting Sharafuddín).

¶ Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture, J. A. S. B., XVII, 1848, ii., 244.

** For this statement Tytler refers to the *Liber Garderobæ*, or Wardrobe Book, of Edward I, p. 52 (*Hist. of Scotland*, I, 181).

From the account above referred to of the defence of Bhatnár, it would appear that the fire was not projected to a distance, but thrown down from above on the attacking party when they came near. The direct delivery of hot matter on the heads of assailants, and of fire upon their engines, when they approached close to the walls, is a means of offensive defence which must have occurred to most people, and for which special arrangements were often made in the construction of defensible places :—

Where upon tower and turret head
The seething pitch and molten lead
Reek'd like a witch's cauldron red.*

The kind of defence is one which was by no means superseded by the possession of means of projecting the fire or scalding matter to a distance ; but it was an arrangement of more prominent importance, and which received very special care and attention, in times when there was both more hand-to-hand work in fighting, and closer operations in the attack and defence of fortified positions. Sir Richard Maitland's defence of his castle of Lander in 1296 is commemorated in the ballad which tells us how he cast down combustibles upon the roofed machine called the *sow* (a British version of *testudo* or *musculus*) when it was brought close up :—

They laid their sowies to the wall
Wi' mony a heavy peal,
But he threw ower to them agen
Baith pitch and tar barrel.†

a plan which was followed also, not without much art and skilfully prepared appliances, by the Flemish engineer, John Crab, in the defence of Berwick when besieged by Edward II. in 1319. Barbour relates how to “throw Crabys cunsail” they rigged up a *crain* “rynnand on quheills”, that it might be readily brought to any part of the walls when required :

And pyk, and ter, als haiff thai tane,
And lynt, and herds,‡ and brymstane,
And dry treyis that wele wald brin.

of which they made “gret fagaids” to be lifted over by the machine and dropped, burning, on the assailants' engines, which were at the same time laid hold of with grappling hooks and chains to prevent their removal.

* *Lay of the Last Minstrel.*

Hi jaculis, illi certant defendere saxis,
Molirique ignem, nervoque aptare sagittas. (*Æn.* X, 130.)

† *Auld Maitland.* (Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.)

It was an exact repetition of an old proceeding. “Cupas tædâ ac pice refertas incendunt, easque de muro in musculum devolvunt.” (*Cæsar, de Bell. Civ., II, 11.*) This is what the defenders of Marseilles did, B. C. 49.

‡ Refuse of flax.

And gif the sow come to the wall,
 To lat it brynd on her fall,
 And with stark chenyeis hald it thar,
 Quhill all were brynt up that thar war.*

For exposure to any such direct and plentiful application of fire at close quarters some roof covering of a not very inflammable kind was needed. The *musculus* which came under the fire of the Massilian tar-barrels,† was prepared for it, sheltered by tiled roofing covered with earth and hides. Protection, also, against fire missiles discharged from a distance needed, in order to answer its purpose, to be adapted to the character of the burning matter which it had to resist; and shelter which was sufficient against the more innocent combustibles was not fitted to encounter burning naphtha or Greek Fire. Against the more primitive fire-arrows, leathern mantlets served for the protection of the soldiers and workmen, and for the defensive covering of the towers and engines. At the attack on Bámián by Chingiz Khán, A. D. 1221, an order was given to kill as many horses and cows as would provide hides to cover the besieging engines, by which it is said they were effectually protected. The fire thrown by the defenders did them no harm. But at Khojand, two years before, when the besieged threw burning naphtha, additional shelter was used, made of sheets of felt covered with clay, and moistened with vinegar.‡ By many writers vinegar is mentioned as the best or only means of quenching Greek Fire.§ Against the fire arrows and

* Barbour, *The Bruce*, Book XVII.

† Thucyd., II, 75. Arrian, *Exp. Alex.*, II, 18. When we are told of a stouter protection being insufficient against a phalarica,—

Sed magnum stridens contorta phalarica venit
 Fulminis acta modo; quam nec duo taurea terga
 Nec duplici squamâ lorica fidelis et auro
 Sustinuit. (Virg. *Æn.* IX, 705.)

we may infer that this had nothing to do with the kind of fire with which the javelin was charged, but is meant to indicate, in poetical fashion, the force with which it was launched by the hand of a hero.

‡ Petis de la Croix, *Hist. of Genghiscan*, 307, 190. In the First Crusade an engine is said to have been made to Godfrey's order by

“a cunning architect,
 William, of all the Genoas lord and guide.”
 “whereof he clothed the sides
 Against the balls of fire with raw bull's hides.”

Tasso, *Jer. Del.* (Fairfax's translation), XVIII, 41, 43.

But this protection was not effectual. It could not withstand the Greek Fire (XVIII, 84).

§ So in two Latin Chroniclers quoted by Lalanne in his *Recherches sur le Feu Grégeois*, p. 30;—“Inextinguibilem ab omni re præter acetum” (*Ditmar*).—“Græcum ignem qui nullo præter aceti liquore exstinguitur.” (*Luitprand*.) A very old writer on military affairs, Æneas Poliorceticus, (about 360, B. C.) says (ch. 34) that the fire

fire *Páo* of the Tartars, the Chinese (A. D. 1273) constructed defensive covering for their horses of rice straw ropes covered with clay.*

It is when Greek Fire comes to be employed that the *noise* is specially noticed; which has given occasion to the surmise that it was in reality gunpowder. A French writer who has made researches on the subject (M. Lalanne), endeavours to show that it was nothing else than gunpowder, used as such, and that the tubes from which it was sometimes discharged, were cannon. But it may be observed that the noise mentioned in connection with Greek Fire was the noise accompanying the flight and combustion or explosion of the burning missile itself, as it came among the people against whom it was launched. Noises of a kind that would be alarming to those unused to this instrument of warfare, may accompany the combustion of naphtha or petroleum, which appears generally to have been the chief ingredient of this fire composition. And *any* noise would contribute to the terror occasioned by encountering a hostile fire so formidable on other accounts, and would be magnified by the apprehensions of those exposed to it. And their accounts of it constantly exhibit the perturbation it caused.

They come not,—while his fierce beleaguers pour
Engines of havoc in, unknown before
And horrible as new; javelins that fly
Enwreath'd with smoky flames through the dark sky,
And red hot globes that, opening as they mount,
Discharge, as from a kindled naphtha fount,
Showers of consuming fire o'er all below.†

The most graphic accounts of the Greek Fire, "horrible as new," and of the wonder and alarm which it created, are given in the pleasant pages

thrown by the enemy is to be put out with vinegar. He goes on to mention (ch. 35) a certain *πῦρ ἱσχυρόν*, which he says can by no means be extinguished; and Casaubon, in his comment, thinks from the terms used that though certain materials are named (pitch, sulphur, &c.), something more is possibly intended, of the nature of Greek Fire. (*Isaaci Casauboni in Aeneas Note*, 587.)

* Reinaud and Favé, *Feu Grégeois*, p. 196. Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd Ed., II, 154.

† *Lalla Rookh. The Veiled Prophet*. Moore's note, along with other references, notices Gibbon's account of the Greek Fire—"It was either launched in red-hot balls of stone and iron, or darted in arrows or javelins twisted round with flax and tow which had deeply imbibed the inflammable oil." Fire missiles of the same general character, and formidable quite as much on account of their novelty to those against whom they were used as on account of their real power or destructiveness, were in use long before anything of the kind bore the name of Greek Fire. "The Rhodians had engines on board their ships, by means of which they threw fire upon those of the enemy This probably resembled the substance which in later times was called Grecian fire: to judge of it from the manner in which the Greek historians speak of it, it was not thrown with rockets, and was certainly something inextinguishable and not generally known." (*Niebuhr's Lectures on the History of Rome*, by Schmidt, II, 184.)

of the Sire de Joinville's History of St. Louis. "La manière du feu grégois estoit tele que il venoit bien devant aussi gros comme un tonnel de verjus, et la queue du feu qui partoît de li, estoit bien aussi grant comme un grant glaive. Il faisoit tele noise au venir, que il sembloit que ce feust la foudre du ciel; il sembloit un dragon qui volast par l'air. Tant getoit grant clarté que l'on véoit parmi l'ost comme se il feust jour, pour la grant foison du feu qui getoit la grant clarté."* This was in Egypt, in 1249. It was discharged from the engines called *perriere* (pierrière) upon the crusaders' *chas-chastiaus*, or towers, and against their stockades. Again it is described as having been thrown by hand, in what we may suppose to have been something like grenades. "Au darrien il amenèrent un vilain à pié, qui leur geta troiz foiz feu grégois. L'une des foiz requelli Guillaume de Boon le pot de feu grégois à sa roelle; car se il se feust pris à riens sur li, il eust esté ars."† And again attached to arrows, "— si grant foison de pylés à tout le feu grégois, que il sembloit que les estoiles du ciel chéissent."‡

Hallam, in noticing Joinville's account of the Greek Fire, calls it "an instrument of warfare almost as surprising and terrible as gunpowder."§ And in another place he refers to a frequently-quoted passage of an Arabic work,|| written just about the time of Joinville's first-mentioned experience of Greek Fire, and which mentions, Hallam says, the use of gunpowder in engines of war, "though they may seem to have been rather like our fire-works than artillery." Quoting from Casiri's Latin translation, "serpunt susurrantque scorpiones circumligati ac pulvere nitrato incensi, unde explosi fulgurant ac incendunt," he says "one would be glad to know whether *pulvis nitratus* is a fair translation." If Mr. Hallam had had the advantage of seeing the results of the researches of M. M. Reinaud and Favé, he would (although the translation is shown to be open to objection) have had no occasion to question the literal *pulvis nitratus*, without coming to the conclusion, as he does, that "there can on the whole be no doubt that gunpowder is meant."¶ The description which follows the passage quoted above is not very different from other accounts of Greek Fire, which indicate

* *L'Histoire de Saint Louis*, Ch. XLIII.

† *Ibidem*, Ch. XLIX.

‡ *Ibidem*, Ch. LXIII.

§ *Middle Ages*, I, i, p. 41 (ed. 1860).

|| In *Casiri, Bibl. Arab. Hispan.*, t. ii, p. 7. (Reference in Hallam.)

¶ *Middle Ages*, I, 479. M. Reinaud notices that the word *bâruâ*, used in the original of the passage referred to, is applied both to nitre and to gunpowder. He gives the passage in the Arabic, and a corrected translation in French, and adds, "On voit que Casiri, qui traduisait *bâroud* par *pulvere nitrato*, et qui ne connaissait pas d'autre propriété de la poudre que l'explosion, en a introduit l'idée dans sa traduction. Voulant donner un sens à ce passage, il était naturellement amené à y voir l'emploi que nous faisons maintenant de la poudre." (*Reinaud and Favé, Feu Grég.*, 67.)

some material like petroleum, persistent in burning, and readily laying hold of, and setting fire to, objects with which it came in contact.

In a history of the early Muhammadan occupation of Egypt, called the *Maurid al-latāfat*, where mention is made of the use of naphtha for fiery missiles, in A. H. 532 (A. D. 1138), the English translator says in his note, "Utrum auctor noster per vocabulum Naphtham significare velit compositionem illam quam plurimi antiqui scriptores nomine *Ignis Græci* commemorârunt, an nostrum *Pulverem tormentorium*, nescio."* As the author says the missiles were fed with naphtha (نَافْثَة), there need be no doubt. As elsewhere, other materials may have been added, but there is nothing to indicate this. The translator, however, thinks the supposition that possibly gunpowder was used, is supported both by the passage from Casiri referred to by Hallam, and by another account of a still earlier date. "Et quidem apud Arabas vetustissimum pulveris nitrati usum esse liquet; refert Elmacinus, Lib. I. Hist. Sar., 'Eodem hocce anno (*scil.* A. H. 71, [A. D. 690]), Hâjaz arctâ premens obsidione Meccam, manganis et mortariis, ope naphthæ et ignis in Cabam jactis, illius tecta diruit, combussit et in cineram redegit.'" The names applied to the engines might raise some question, but the naphtha is there. And in many other instances naphtha is distinctly mentioned, by oriental and other writers, as thus used in medieval fire missiles. To which, in the West, people have been accustomed to give the name of Greek Fire.†

But, on other grounds besides the mention of *pulvis nitratus* in some of the Greek Fire compositions, it has been inferred that gunpowder was known, as a source of power for propulsion as well as a pyrotechnic composition, and that cannon were used, in times long anterior to those of the really known and certain application of gunpowder to the purposes of modern artillery. In particular, the frequent use of *tubes* for the discharge of the

* *Maured Allatafat*, ed. J. D. Carlyle, A. M.

† Advenit etiam legatus Kaliphæ juvenis illustris, secum vehens naphthæ duo onera, multitudinemque naphthariorum artificum in ignibus jaculandis. (*Bahd ud-dûn*, transl. by *Schultens*, quoted by *Lalanne*, *Recherches sur le Feu Grégeois*, p. 41, note.) Tasso (*La Gerus.*, Lib. XII, 17) makes the magician Ismeno prepare a composition for burning the war engines of the enemy, of which composition a note by one of his editors, Signor Pietro Fraticelli, says, "Dal miscuglio di qui parla Ismeno, dover risultarne il così detto *fuoco greco*, &c." "Questo fuoco," he goes on to say, quoting the *Military Dictionary* of Giuseppe Grassi, "è invenzione antichissima de' Persiani, i quali adoperavano il nafta come principale ingrediente di esso." And he adds "I Saraceni lo componevano in quel tempo col nafta o petrolio, che si raccoglie nelle vicinanze di Bagdad." And the poet, further on (XVIII, 47), when

Ismen prepara

Copia di fochi inusitata e rara,

says that the asphalt of the Dead Sea was used in the composition.

Greek Fire, and the fact of a *report* of some kind being often mentioned in connection with it, have helped to give occasion to this belief.

Gibbon, in his account of the siege of Constantinople, A. D. 717, after observing that the principal ingredient of Greek Fire seems to have been naphtha or liquid bitumen, says that, when employed at sea, it was "most commonly blown through long tubes of copper, which were planted on the prow of a galley, and fancifully shaped into the mouths of savage monsters, that seemed to vomit a stream of liquid and consuming fire."* A little earlier than the occasion to which Gibbon's account relates, a similar mode of discharging naphtha fire on land appears to have been practised by the Arab invaders of Sind (A. H. 93, A. D. 712). Their employment of naphtha in their battles with the Hindu inhabitants is noticed repeatedly in the *Chachnámah*, in passages of which extracts are given in Vol. I, of Prof. Dowson's edition of Sir H. Elliot's *Muhammadan Historians of India*.† When the enemy's elephants approached, Muhammad Kásim ordered his naphtha-throwers to attack them. Burnes, quoting from another part of the *Chachnámah*, not included in Sir H. Elliot's extracts, or from another version, says the Muhammadans, in the battle at Alor, when the elephants were brought against them, had to assail them with combustibles. They "filled their pipes, and returned with them to dart fire at the elephants." Burnes, in his foot-note, supposes pipes for smoking to be meant, and remarks that it must have been bhang or hemp which they smoked in those days, as tobacco was not known.‡ But apparently the word should have been *tubes*. They were probably like what were called in the West χειροσίφωνα, or hand-tubes, employed for the same purpose,§ in which either naphtha or special fire compositions might be used, and through which the fire was discharged, or *in* which it was thrown. One of the meanings given by Golius to the word *nafút* or *naffút* is "instrumentum æneum quod exploditur naphthæ seu pulveris pyrii ope, scil. tormentum bellicum."|| He seems to intimate that a name originally connected with naphtha may have continued to be used to designate the weapon, even after gunpowder or other

* "We got into a boat like a fire ship," Ibn Baṭūṭa says, in telling of a trip on a canal in China. A. D. 1345 (Yule's *Cathay*, II, 499.) He seems to allude to some particular kind or form of ship which used to be thus fitted with fire-throwing apparatus. (The passage is one of those omitted in Lee's abridgment translation of Ibn Baṭūṭa.)

† Pp. 170, 172, 174.

‡ Travels into Bokhara, I, 67.

§ Extracts from the Emperor Leo's *Tactica* given by Lalanne (*Œeu Grégeois*, p. 21). From Leo's description it would appear that the tubes themselves, when filled with the fire composition, were to be thrown in the face of the enemy.

|| *Lexicon Arabico-latinum*, نَفَا and نَفَا, p. 2425.

combustible had come to be used in it in place of naphtha.* Beckmann, in his "History of Inventions and Discoveries," quotes an account of the Greek Fire at the capture of Thessalonica by the Saracens in A. D. 904, which says that it was blown into the wooden works of the besieged by means of tubes.† A number of passages mentioning this use of tubes for discharging Greek Fire, in the same century and after, are given by M. Lalanne in his *Recherches sur le Feu Grégeois*.‡ And he surmises that certain tubes which Chateaubriand mentions having seen in a collection of old arms shown to him at Jerusalem, may have been specimens of the implements used for Greek Fire.§ But the idea seems to be of much older date than any of the middle age instances referred to.||

There is nothing to show or suggest that in any of the instances in which tubes were used for Greek Fire, the combustible matter they contained was employed to furnish the motive force, or otherwise than as the material for the fire to be thrown. It is certain that this fire material was frequently or generally liquid, and that this liquid was naphtha or petroleum. It appears also that other inflammable ingredients were sometimes added; and that frequently the dry materials, including one or more of the ingredients of gunpowder, were used alone.

Of reports or noises accompanying fire missiles, which have induced the supposition that something of the nature of cannon was used, or shells exploding by means of gunpowder, the most familiar illustration in India is that given in the account by Firishtah of Mahmūd's battle with Anandpāl near Pashāwar, in A. D. 1008, when the elephant on which the Hindu prince rode was alarmed by the sudden noise and fled. The notice of this passage in Firishtah gave occasion to the interesting Note by Sir Henry Elliot, in the original first volume of his "Index to the Muhammadan His-

* As we continue to call a thing a *chandelier* when the lights it carries are no longer candles; and a *volume*, when it has ceased to be a *volumen*, &c., &c. The very word *tormentum*, which Golius here uses, is another illustration.

† *Hist. of Inv. and Disc.*, II, 249. The quotation is from *Leo Allatius*, cir. 1650.

‡ In the times of the Emperor Leo, about A. D. 900; of Const. Porphy., A. D. 950; Alexius, A. D. 1100, &c., *περὶ τοῦ ὄγρου πυρὸς τοῦ διὰ τῶν σιφώνων ἐκφερομένου*, &c., &c., pp. 17, 24, &c. Lalanne quotes also a Russian Chronicle of the tenth century, which speaks of "une espèce de feu ailé" which was discharged "au moyen d'un certain tuyau," p. 29.

§ *Lalanne*, p. 59. "Je remarquai encore des tubes de fer de la longueur et de la grosseur d'un canon de fusil, dont j'ignore l'usage." *Chat., Itinéraire*, II, 313.

|| Casaubon, in his Notes on Æneas Poliorceticus, after noticing various ancient fire missiles, says "Observo etiam, ad liquida injicienda, quæ Philo appellat ὄγρὰ τεθερμασμένα, prælongis interdum usos fistulis, quas idem nominat ἐνερήρας." This Philo wrote in the third century B. C.

torians of India," on the early use of gunpowder in India.* General Briggs had observed, in his translation of Firishtah, that in some manuscripts the words *tóp* (cannon) and *tufang* (musket) have been written, in place of the *naft* (naphtha) and *khadang* (arrow) of other copies. A confirmation of the reading *tóp* and *tufang*, Sir H. Elliot says, is given by Wilken, who found this in two copies he had consulted, in which the roar of the cannon also is mentioned. "He considers it not improbable that Greek Fire was used by Mahmúd. Dow boldly translates the word as *guns*."† Sir H. Elliot observes, with reference to Firishtah's account generally, that it does not appear on what authority he rests his statement, as the earlier historians who notice this important engagement do not mention either *naft* or *tóp*.‡ But he adds that from the mention of the use of naphtha ten years later, in an action near Multán, and from the circumstance of naphtha being found in abundance in the country near the scene of the first engagement in question, it is probable that if any combustibles were used on that occasion, they were composed of naphtha. The fact that the fire missile alarmed the elephant, would give no indication that it was of any remarkable or unusual kind. And the noise (*cadá*) is mentioned in those versions of Firishtah which speak of naphtha and arrows, as well as in those which use the words *tóp* and *tufang*.§ It seems to have proceeded from the missile itself, not from the discharge of it. There need not be difficulty in supposing that the noise was of the nature of an explosion, if naphtha alone was used, or naphtha with other combustibles, thrown in shells, cases, or tubes, as elsewhere.

* P. 340.

† The ordinary form of the passage in Firishtah is—

ناگلا فیلے کہ اندپال برو سوار بود از صدای نفت و خدنگ سرسیمه گشته روی
بگریز نهاد *

Dow's version is—"On a sudden the elephant upon which the prince of Lahore, who commanded the Indians in chief, rode, took fright at the report of a gun, and turned his face to flight." And he says in a foot-note, "According to our accounts there were no guns at this time, but many eastern authors mention them, ascribing the invention to one Lockman." (Dow's *History of Hindostan*, I, 46.) He gives no references to any of these eastern authors.

‡ It may be noticed, however, that the *Kitáb-i-Yamini*, one of the histories referred to by Sir H. Elliot in this passage, speaks in another place (not relating to this engagement) of the use of *dtash-didáh bán*, or fire-eyed rockets, which, an English translator remarks, "may have encouraged the idea that artillery was known in Mahmúd's age." (*Kitáb-i-Yamini*, translated by the Rev. J. Reynolds, page 279.)

§ Maurice, writing of this battle, says, "A species of fire weapon seems to have been in use at that time in Asiatick battles; and the sudden explosion of one of those instruments of destruction, close by the elephant on which the prince of Lahore, the generalissimo of the army, rode, &c., &c." Which seems to be Dow repeated, with a slight variation, and evading his "bold" use of the word *gun*. (*Modern History of Hindostan*, I, 253.) Dow's translation was recent at the time Maurice's book was written.

Numerous modern petroleum explosions* have made us familiar with the reports it is capable of producing. Such big demonstrations, of course, can hardly be taken to illustrate what happens with a naphtha shell, but those who have had an opportunity of seeing and hearing a Kerosine lamp explode in their room can understand what it means. The naphtha vapour, like other gases of the same class, when combined with atmospheric air, explodes with a report which, even on a moderate scale, is sufficient, with fiery accompaniment, to alarm an elephant. Explosions are produced, as illustrated by frequent experiences, when the gas, issuing from the ground, or accumulating over the petroleum in wells, is suddenly ignited.† The use of tubes for the discharge of fire missiles, and the accompanying report, might, taken together, easily give occasion, in after times, to the idea that guns and gunpowder were used, though the combustible material was really naphtha or Greek Fire. There is, however, not much to indicate that the noises mentioned were of the nature of what we call a report, and nothing to support the idea that in Mahmúd's time, the beginning of the eleventh century, guns and gunpowder were known.

The use of hollow canes for giving a direction to darts and other missiles is, no doubt, a practice of great antiquity, followed in the present day also by inhabitants of uncivilised islands, and others, and represented among ourselves by our juvenile pea-shooters. In India, bamboos have been used

* The dangerous nature of which called for the English Petroleum Act of 1862, and the Ordonnance du Préfet de Police (relative à l'emploi des huiles de Pétrole) in July, 1864.

† Thus, for instance, at the great abode of naphtha on the Caspian :—"Outside the temple at Baku is a well. I tasted the water, which is strongly impregnated with naphtha. A pilgrim covered this well over with two or three *nummuds* for five minutes. He then warned every one to go to a distance, and threw in a lighted straw; immediately a large flame issued forth, the noise and appearance of which resembled the explosion of a tumbrel." (Captain the Hon. G. Keppel's *Journey from India to England*, II, 221.) The French missionary Imbert, quoted by Hue (*Chinese Empire*, Ch. VII), describes an occurrence of the same kind at the mouth of one of the Chinese *fire-wells*. "As soon as the fire touched the surface of the well, there arose a terrific explosion, and a shock as of an earthquake; and at the same moment the whole surface of the court appeared in flames." "I believe", he says, "that it is a gas or spirit of bitumen." To pass to an illustration on a very small scale, probably many people who have visited the fire temple of *Jwála Mukhi* in the Kángra District, of the Panjáb, will remember the smart pop with which one of the tiny jets of gas issuing from the rock is re-lighted, when it has been accidentally blown out (as they are sometimes by sparrows flying quickly past them). It is the too well-known property of one of the most familiar of the hydrocarbons, the *grison* or fire-damp, to explode with serious results. "Il brûle tranquillement avec une flamme jaunâtre, tant qu'il n'est pas mêlé avec l'air atmosphérique; mais dans le cas contraire, il détone avec violence". "Quelquefois il se dégage seul, mais souvent il est mélangé de pétrole plus ou moins épais et de bitume." (*Beudant, Minéralogie*, 232).

for this purpose, in very early times, with fire-arrows.* And in connection with the use of naphtha tubes in war, it is not uninteresting to notice the employment of canes for naphtha and inflammable gas for economic purposes. Humboldt, in his account of the *Ho-tsing* or fire-wells of China,† and of the *rope-boring* for water, salt, and combustible gas, which is practised “from the south-west provinces of Yun-nan, Kuang-si, and Szu-tchuan on the borders of Tibet to the northern province of Shan-si”, says “the gas burns with a reddish flame, and often diffuses a bituminous smell; it is conveyed to a distance, sometimes through pipes of bamboo, sometimes in portable tubes, also of bamboo, to be used in salt works, in warming houses, or in lighting streets.”‡ Also for cooking food, as mentioned in an old account by a Chinese writer,§ and for other purposes.|| Huc, describing these fire wells, says “a little tube of bamboo closes the opening of the well, and conducts the inflammable air to where it is required; it is then kindled with a taper, and burns continuously.”¶ In an old review article in the *Athenæum* mention is made of an account in the *Lettres Edifiantes* of oil

* Halhed's *Gentoo Laws*. Introduction, p. 50. See also Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, p. 299, and *As. Researches*, I, 264.

† *Asie Centrale*, II, 519-540. *Cosmos* (Sabine's transl.), IV, 216.

‡ Here, perhaps, we have the original *ῥάπτης* of Prometheus,

The secret fount of fire

I sought, and found, and in a reed concealed it,
Whence arts have sprung to men, and life hath drawn
Rich store of comforts. (*Prom. Vincit.* 107. Prof. Blackie's translation).

Scarcely to man devised the heavenly sire,
And hid the shining element of fire.
Prometheus then, benevolent of soul,
In hollow reed the spark recovering stole.

* * * *

The far seen splendour in a hollow reed
He stole of inexhaustible flame.

(*Hesiod* by Elton. *Ancient Classics for English Readers*, pp. 24-92).

§ “In all parts of this Province (Shan-si) are found fiery wells which very conveniently serve for the boiling of their victuals.” (*Description of China*, by *Dionysius Kao*, appended to *Ysbrants Ides' Travels*, A. D. 1692, p. 125).

|| “On utilise ces feux naturels pour la cuisson de la chaux, des briques, &c.” Beudant, *Minéralogie*, p. 233.

¶ *Chinese Empire*, Chap. VII. The practice is mentioned also by Sir John Davis. (*The Chinese*, p. 336). And at some of the American oil wells the same method is followed at the present day. “Some of the pumping engines generate steam by the aid of the combustible gas that is so commonly associated with the petroleum, it being only necessary to conduct it by a pipe from the tanks in which the oil accumulates to the furnace of the engine.” (*Prof. H. Draper of New York. Quarterly Journal of Science*, London, 1865, II, 49.)

that rose from the earth, (at places in China) turned in hollow bamboos in any direction, which burned with a clear flame.* The naphtha gas of Baku is said to be carried about in bottles,† as that of China is in bamboo tubes. It is not improbable that naphtha tubes for hostile purposes may have been suggested by the use of bamboos for the oil and for the gas in the modes above noticed.

Not alone on account of similarity of form, then, but with reference also, it may be supposed, to previous uses of tubes for Greek Fire, and of bamboos for discharging fire arrows, and for carrying petroleum and gas, has the name *canna* been carried forward and applied to modern artillery. The connection of *bomb* and *bombarda* with *bamboo*, however, is not one which illustrates the derivation of the artillery terms from the name of the cane. *Βόμβος*, *bombus*, a hum or noise, is no doubt the origin of *bomba* and *bombarda*. And *bamboo*, (which is not a name it bears in its own countries) is supposed to be derived from the same origin (viâ *bomba*), and to have been applied to it by the Portuguese, with reference to the noisy explosion of the air chambers of the cane when burning.‡ This is possible, though the experience which occasioned the application of the name must be supposed to have been very exceptional.

For indication of the knowledge of fire-arms in India at a very early period, reference has frequently been made to certain passages in ancient books noticed by Halhed in his *Code of Gentoo Laws*. "It will no doubt," Halhed says,§ "strike the reader with wonder to find a prohibition of fire-arms in records of such unfathomable antiquity, and he will probably from hence renew the suspicion which has long been deemed absurd, that Alexander the Great did absolutely meet with some weapons of that kind in India, as a passage in Quintus Curtius seems to ascertain. Gunpowder has been known in China as well as in Hindostan, far beyond all periods of investigation. The word fire-arms is literally in Sanscrit *Agni-aster*, a weapon of fire; they describe the first species of it to have been a kind of dart or arrow tipped with fire and discharged upon the enemy from a bamboo. Among several extraordinary properties of this weapon one was that after it had taken its flight, it divided into several separate darts or streams of flame, each of which took effect, and which when once kindled could not be extinguished;" (on which Halhed says in a foot note—"It seems exactly to agree with the *Feu Grégeois* of the Crusades") "but this kind of *Agni-aster* is now lost. Cannon in the Sanscrit idiom is called *Shët-Aghni*, or the weapon that kills a hundred men at once, from (*shëte*) a hundred, and (*ghëneh*) to kill."

* Aug. 16, 1862. The reference to the *Lettres Édif.* is not specific.

† Beudant, p. 233.

‡ Elliot, orig. ed., I, 345.

§ Preface, pp. 1, li.

The compilation which Halhed published under the above title, *Code of Gentoo Laws*, in 1781, was made from twenty Sanskrit works. It was compiled by eleven Brahmans whom he calls a set of the most experienced lawyers. They were selected, under the orders of Warren Hastings, from all parts of Bengal for the purpose. The compilation, when complete, was translated into Persian, under the supervision of one of these Brahmans, and from the Persian was translated into English by Mr. Halhed. In the compilation itself no indication is given of the particular book (out of the twenty mentioned collectively at the beginning) from which each passage is taken. And in the translator's Preface no references are given to the authorities for his own comments; but he speaks of "the number of enquiries necessary for the elucidation of almost every sentence," which "give him in some measure a right to claim the conviction of the world upon many dubious points, which have long eluded the nicest investigation."* This is all we get from him. The passage relating to fire-arms is in the second section of the preface to the Code, or "the qualities requisite for a magistrate", and it says "the magistrate shall not make war with any deceitful machine, or with poisoned weapons, or with cannon and guns, or any other kind of fire-arms."† This is clearly from the Institutes of Manu. And what Manu says about it is this, "Let no man engaged in combat smite his foe with sharp weapons concealed in wood, nor with arrows mischievously barbed, nor with poisoned arrows, nor with darts blazing with fire."‡ This appears to be the original passage which in the hands of the Bengal Pandits took the form given by Halhed. And it can be assigned approximately to the ninth century B. C. There is nothing here to indicate anything else than primitive fire darts of the kind used in other countries. Mr. Talboys Wheeler, in a note relating to a description in the Mahābhārata of a variety of arms, says that, in the original, mention is made, among other weapons, of "arrows, producing fire", and he says "The Brahmans in the present day point to the fire-producing arrows as proofs that the ancient Hindus were possessed of fire-arms."§ There are other ancient notices of war missiles or engines which (with more reason than this specific mention of *arrows*) have given occasion to this belief, but there is nothing to indicate what they were. "From the frequent mention of the *Agni-astra*, or fire-arms", Bābu Rājendralāla Mitra has observed, "it is to be inferred that the Hindus had some instruments for hurling shells or balls of burning matter against their enemies; but no description of any such has yet been met with."|| The *Mahāyantra*, or great engine, and the *Sataghni*, or centicide,

* Introduction, p. xi.

† P. cxiii.

‡ Institutes of Manu, translated by Sir W. Jones, VII, 90.

§ *History of India*, I, 88.

|| *Antiquities of Orissa*, I, 121.

he refers to as being mentioned in the ancient books but not described. Bohlen* alludes to the mention in the Puránas of a kind of cannon; but he does not give the name, or any definite reference.

Colonel Tod says, "We have, in the Poems of Chand, frequent indistinct notices of fire-arms, especially the "nal-gola", or *tube-ball*; but whether discharged by percussion or the expansive force of gunpowder is dubious. The poet also repeatedly speaks of "the volcano of the field", giving to understand great guns; but these may be interpolations, though I would not check a full investigation of so curious a subject by raising a doubt."† It can scarcely be questioned now, however, that the doubt was justly raised. The interpolation (if this is the right mode of explaining the passage) has a sort of parallel in a picture, described by M. Lalanne, inserted in 'Le Livre de la Vie et Miracles de Monseigneur S. Loys', in which picture "les sarrasins, d'un côté, se défendent avec des espèces de mousquets à mèche, et, de l'autre, le navire royal porte une rangée de canons."‡

Some kind of fire missile is believed by Prof. H. H. Wilson to be intended in a passage in the *Mahá-nátak* or *Hanumán-nátak*, to which he thus refers in his outline of the play. "In the opening of the thirteenth Act, *Rávana* levels a shaft at *Lakshmana*, given him by *Brahma*, and charged with the fate of one hero: it should seem to be something of the nature of fire-arms, a shell or a rocket, as *Hanumán* snatches it away, after it has struck *Lakshmana*, before it does mischief. *Rávana* reproaches *Brahma*, and he sends *Náreda* to procure the dart again, and keep *Hanumán* out of the way."§ There is not much here to show the kind of missile, except that it does *not* seem to have been anything like a shell or rocket. The play belongs to the tenth or eleventh century. Of the nature of "the Agneya weapon, one of the celestial armoury, or the weapon of fire", mentioned in another Hindu drama, the *Uttara Ráma Charitra*, there is only the indication given in the "fiery blaze" attributed to it; by which, as in the other case, some kind of burning arrow is probably meant.||

While there is no very distinct indication of the nature of the machines or missiles thus referred to in ancient Hindu books, the idea of fire-carrying arrows seems to have been familiar in India, as elsewhere, from early times; and the use of such fire-arrows, discharged from a bow or by other means, is seen to range over a long period. In the *Ayodhyá Máhátmya*, of which a translation has lately been published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,¶ it is related that on a certain occasion the *Rájá Kúsha*, getting

* *Das Alte Indien*, II, 63, 64.

† *Annals of Rajasthan*, I, 310. Note.

‡ *Recherches sur le Feu Grégeois*, 55.

§ *Hindu Theatre*, Vol. III. Appendix, 58.

|| Id., Vol. II, *Uttar. Ram. Char.* 92.

¶ J. A. S. B., Part I. 1875, pp. 137, 138.

enraged, "put an arrow of fire on his bow, to dry up the water of the Sarayú."* The notice in *Manu* appears to be the earliest. And nearly two thousand years after his time, arrows of this kind were in use in Kashmír; towards the end of the century in the beginning of which Mahmúd had been launching naphtha balls against his opponents in the neighbouring plains of the Panjáb. This is M. Troyer's translation of the passage in the *Rájá Tarangini* in which they are mentioned. "Quand il ne restait que trois heures du jour, les ennemis, encore une fois ralliés, exaspérés par la défaite, marchèrent pour combattre Kandarpa. Alors il lança dans le conflit des flèches de fer, lesquelles étaient ointes d'huile d'herbes, et mettaient en feu les espaces qu'elles traversaient."† This Kandarpa was the minister of two kings of Kashmír, Utkarcha, who had a short reign in A. D. 1090, according to M. Troyer's chronology,‡ and Harcha, who came to the throne the same year and reigned twelve years.

Besides the specific notices of arrows, and more indefinite references to the undescribed weapons called by the names abovementioned, there are other passages in the ancient Hindu books relating to the use of combustibles in war. "In the *Udyoga Parva* of the Mahábhárata", Rájendralála Mitra writes, "Yudhisthira is described as collecting large quantities of rosin, tow, and other inflammable articles for his great fratricidal war; but nothing is there said of any engine with which they could be hurled against his enemies."§ Another part of the Mahábhárata mentions the use of igneous appliances in aid of defensive arrangements, and here also without any indication of the way in which they were used. It is in connection with the account of the *Aswamedha* or horse sacrifice. The horse had entered the country of *Manipura*, and approached the city of *Babhru-vahana*. "On the outside of the city were a number of waggons bound together with chains, and in them were placed fireworks and fire-weapons, and men were always stationed there to keep guard."||

* This *Mádhātmya* is ascribed to *Ikshvaku*, son of Manu and king of Ayodhyá, (*Muir's Sanscrit Texts*, I, 115).

† Troyer's *Rájá Tarangini*, Ch. XII, 983, 984.

Was any such simple application of inflammable matter to pointed weapons ever practised in Britain? "Go, thou first of my bards, says Oscar, take the spear of Fin-gal. Fix a flame on its point. Shake it to the winds of heaven." (*Ossian, The war of Caros*.) Whether this fire at the spear's point (which must be meant for a signal in this instance) may be meant to indicate also a familiarity with its application to other uses, is doubtful.

‡ Prof. H. H. Wilson assigns dates 23 years later. (Preface to *Ratnavali*, Hindu Theatre, Vol. III.)

§ *Antiquities of Orissa*, I, 121.

|| *Talboys Wheeler, History of India*, I, 405.

Mr. Fergusson has observed, with reference to siege scenes represented in the sculptures of one of the Sanchi gateways (supposed to have been erected about the beginning of the Christian era), that no engines of war are shown, or indications of any attempt to set fire to the place. "In these respects", he says, "the Hindus seem to have been very much behind the stage we know from the Nineveh sculptures that the Assyrians reached at a much earlier age."* And Bábu Rájendralála Mitra, who makes reference, in the work before quoted, to the siege scenes in the Sanchi bas-reliefs, and to the absence of any indication of engines for casting fire to a distance, or for battering, adds that the martial processions and battle scenes at Bhuvaneswara are also devoid of such representations.† These, however, are only pieces of negative evidence, and do not, by themselves, go far. There are European mediæval pictures of siege operations in which no engines of war are represented, or indications of the use of fire, but only such means of attack and defence as are shown in these Indian sculptures.‡ It may be, and it seems probable, that the Hindus were behind Western nations in the knowledge of the mechanical appliances for such purposes, (as the Chinese were, so late as the thirteenth century of our era§) but they did use fire, and the accounts in books give us what the sculptures omit. Yet we may conclude that nothing more advanced in the way of fire weapons was known in India in ancient times, than was in use in other countries;|| and that the application to these old Indian weapons, of terms belonging to weapons of our own time, is an illustration of the inadvertent (or at least in some way erroneous) transference of familiar ideas to times and places to which they do not belong. Shakspeare brings in cannon in the time of King John.

The prohibition in Manu is probably the earliest notice on record of fire arrows, unless, as has been supposed, they are referred to in Psalm

* *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 141.

† *Antiquities of Orissa*, I. 121.

‡ Wilkinson says, "We may suppose" that the Ancient Egyptians used fire missiles in sieges (I, 363), but there is nothing in the pictures or sculptures to countenance this supposition, and he mentions nothing in support of it.

§ See Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd Ed., II, 152. The accounts of the employment of the Polos in the construction of the engines to aid Kublai in the siege of Siangyang are confused; but it appears at all events that Western engineers were employed, and from some accounts, that they were specially sent for. Not that the Chinese and their enemies were altogether unacquainted with war machines, but the people of the West were ahead of them.

|| Nothing of much value is obtained from the statement in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus that the followers of Bacchus, in his invasion of India and battle with Deriades, fought with brands and bolts of fire. (*As. Res.*, XVII, 617.) The question whether the materials for the Indian part of the poem were derived from an Indian source is discussed in the paper here referred to, by Prof. H. H. Wilson.

lxxvi. 3. "The arrows of the bow" might be translated "the glowing fires", or "the glittering or flashing (arrows) of the bow", "or rather perhaps", says Parkhurst, "the βέλη πεπυρωμένα, fiery or fire-bearing arrows, such as it is certain were used in after times. So Montanus, *jacula ignita*."* The Psalm belongs to the century before Manu, or a little more than ten centuries B. C., if the Asaph with whose name it is connected was the contemporary of David. And to a time about three centuries later, the end of the eighth century B. C., if he was Asaph, "the recorder" of King Hezekiah's time. But it seems most probable, notwithstanding Parkhurst's suggestion, that in this instance no reference to fire arrows is intended. Though the literal rendering may be as above, it may be only a poetical figure of a not uncommon kind.† A more probable reference to fire-bearing

* Parkhurst, Heb. Lex. s. v. חַר, the meanings of which, as a noun he gives as "red hot coal", "glowing fire", "flashes of lightning". Gesenius translates it *flame*, and refers to its use in Psalm lxxviii. 48. The same word in Arabic, رَشَق, *rishq*, is interpreted by Goliuz, "Jactus rapidior vel vibramen teli. Certus jaculandi seu petendi modus." The LXX render the words referred to, in Ps. lxxvi. 3, τὰ κρᾶτη τῶν πύλων, followed by the Vulgate, *potentias arcuum*.

† Thus in other Psalms we have, by a sort of reverse simile, *arrows* used for *lightning* (Ps. xviii. 14; cxliv. 6. Also Hab. iii. 11; Zech. ix. 14). In the *Tárlkh i Yamíní*, "arrows ascending towards them like flaming sparks of fire." (*Dowson's Elliot*, II, 34.) The idea of flame or lightning is attached to bright and quick-moving weapons of various kinds. Thus in Nahum iii. 3. A similar figure probably is intended in Gen. iii. 24, so also Virgil's

vaginâque eripit ensem

Fulmineum ——— (Æn. IV. 580).

"The sword is in your hands. Let Jessulmer be illumined by its blows upon the foe." (*Tod's Rajasthan*, II, 251). The epithet *blazing* is mentioned by Rājendralāla Mitra as applied in a passage of the *Rig Veda* (IV, 93) to swords, lances, and other weapons. (*Antiquities of Orissa*, I, 119.) Khwāndmīr, in a description of a battle, speaks of the "flame-exciting spears." (*Ḥabīb us-siyar*. *Dowson's Elliot*, IV, 172). And 'Unsurī of Balkh, in one of his odes, "Hadst thou seen his spears gleaming like tongues of flame through black smoke, &c." (*Elliot*, IV, 516). And Homer II. X, 153, thus rendered by Chapman, in prosaic fashion telling us it was a reflection—

His spear fixed by him as he slept, the great end in the ground,
The point that bristled the dark earth cast a reflection round,
Like pallid lightnings thrown from Jove ———.

Pope, more happily,

Far flashed their brazen points

Like Jove's own lightning.

"In that arrow the terrible god hurled forth the fire of wrath, &c." (*Mahādeva's Equipment for Battle*, *Muir's Sanscrit Texts*, II, 225.) This too is probably figurative fire, though it is added that he discharged it against the castle of the Asuras, and the Asuras were burnt up, p. 226.

Krishna and Arjun are sent by Mahādeva to a lake where he had deposited his bow and arrows. They see two serpents, one vomiting flames. The serpents change their form and become bow and arrows, p. 186.

arrows is in Psalm cxx. 4. The word there used "coals of juniper" (more properly *broom*) seems to refer to actual burning matter.

Between the ancient Hindu writings which mention fire-arrows in early days in India, and the Muhammadan historians who tell of naphtha-throwing, in the time of the first Arab invasions of Sind, we get some indications, from a different source, of the use for similar purposes of the petroleum of the north-west districts of the Panjáb, about fourteen hundred years before it was used in Mahmúd's battles in that quarter. The oil mentioned by Ctesias as used in the attack of cities, which was launched against the gates in earthen vessels, and set fire to everything around, with a flame which could not be extinguished by any ordinary means, is obviously petroleum, though his story is that it was obtained from a large animal found in the Indus. And the animal described, though called a worm (*σκῶληξ*), is as obviously (in spite of errors and exaggerations with regard to it as well as to the oil) a crocodile.* It was seven cubits in length, and had a skin two fingers thick, and remarkable teeth. It used to come up on the land at night, seize any animals it could find, and drag them into the water to satisfy its hunger.† Philostratus repeats the story, noticing also, as Ctesias does, that the oil was prepared only for the king.‡ He transfers the animal to the Hyphasis; but from the nature of the materials for his work some inaccuracies may be expected. The story is essentially the same and is probably taken from Ctesias. It is not difficult to see in these accounts a confusion of separate facts. The petroleum obtained in the districts on both sides of the Indus below Atak is for the most part gathered from the surface of water. Ctesias refers in another passage to the oil which floats on certain lakes or ponds in India, and springs discharging oil.§ Again, the highly inflammable mineral oils and other products of the same class have been very generally believed to be of animal origin.|| In discussing

* That it should be called a worm, is perhaps not very surprising. Long after that time, people did not know exactly what kind of animal it ought to be reckoned. Thomas Herbert, (A. D. 1638) writing of the "hatefull crocodile" of Sumatra, calls it "this detested beast, fish, or serpent, by seamen improperly call'd Alligator." (*Some Yeares Travels*, p. 323.)

† *Ctesia Ind. Historiæ Excerptæ*, Gronovius, p. 664.

‡ *Vit. Apollon. Tyan. III*, 1. The petroleum collected from a spring in the south of Persia, we are told by Dr. Fryer, who travelled in that country in 1674, used to be carefully guarded, and taken for the king's use only. (*Nine Years' Travels*. J. Fryer, *M. D. Cant.*, p. 318.) The story of its discovery, on one of king Faridûn's hunting parties, and of its being reserved for the king's use, is given in Honigberger's *Thirty-five years in the East*, s. v. *Asphaltum Persicum*, p. 238. Also in the *Makhzan i Adwiyah* by Muhammad Husain of Dihlî, A. H. 1180.

§ *Ctes. by Gronov.*, 666.

|| Modern researches on the nature of some of the great deposits of petroleum in the United States and Canada, and elsewhere, have led to the conclusion that they are

the apparent description by Ctesias of the crocodile, and with reference to the question whether oil *is* obtained from that animal, Sir Henry Elliot, in the note before referred to, mentions the result of an investigation on the subject in which Prof. H. H. Wilson took part. But there is no mistake about Crocodile oil. Not only, as Sir H. Elliot observed, is it mentioned in native works on *Materia Medica*, but at the present day it is one of the recognised commercial products of this country, and will be found duly recorded No. 8282 in Dr. Forbes Watson's comprehensive list, prepared in connection with the scheme for an Industrial Survey of India. If we accept the crocodile, the story takes a tolerably compact form and admits of easy and plausible explanation. Here was an inflammable oil, of remarkable properties, believed to be of animal origin, and obtained from the surface of waters on both sides of the Indus. Here was a big water animal, of frightsome appearance and character, residing in the Indus, and from which oil was obtained. It is a very natural supposition that Ctesias, having some version of these facts before him, put this and that together, and like Mr. Pickwick's friend who wrote on Chinese Metaphysics, "combined his information."*

in great part the product of animal decomposition. (*Prof. Archer, in Art Journal of August, 1864. Prof. Draper of New York, in Quarterly Journal of Science, (London) Vol. II, 1865, p. 49. Prof. Ansted, Qu. Journal of Science, II. 755*). The substances of this class which, according to popular belief, are most directly of animal origin, are *ambergris*, and the dark bitumen known as *mūmidī*, highly esteemed in India and Persia as a medicine. With regard to *ambergris*, believed to be a kind of petroleum issuing from rocks and hardened in the sea, modern opinion is coming round to the belief that whether or not it comes into the sea in this way, and is then swallowed by the monsters of the deep, it is actually obtained from the whale. (*Bennett's Whaling Voyage round the Globe, quoted in Yule's Marco Polo, II, 400. The animal is the Physater macrocephalus, according to Linneus (Gmelin, XIV, 495). See also Sindbad's Fifth Voyage, Lane's Thousand and One Nights, III, 66, and note, p. 108. Le Gentil, Voyages dans les Mers de l'Inde, II, 84. D'Herbelot, Bibl. Or., s. v. Ghiavambar. Al-Mas'ūdī, Meadows of Gold, ch. XVI. Renanot's Ancient Accounts of India and China by two Muhammadan Travellers, p. 94. The precious mūmidī is understood a little more exactly. But at the present day it is popularly believed to be obtained from land animals (sotto voce human) by a process exactly similar to that described by Ctesias for extracting from the big beast of the waters the inflammable oil used in sieges in India. (See *Vigne's Ghuzni*, p. 61,—“the asphaltum so well known in India by the name of negro's fat”.) Two years ago there was much alarm among the native servants and others at some of our hill stations in the Panjāb, occasioned by a rumour that a demon who practised the horrible manufacture was prowling about nightly, seizing unwary and unprotected people, to furnish material for the preparation of the first-class mūmidī.*

* It is only by a poetical coincidence, and not with any reference to the combustible product supposed to be obtained from it, that the crocodile itself is described in the book of Job as breathing fire. “Out of his mouth go burning lamps [or *blazing torches*,

The account given by Philostratus of the defence of forts in India by thunderings and lightnings which the defenders had power to discharge on their assailants,* refers, no doubt,—if any real thing is referred to,—to some description of petroleum missile or Greek Fire. But it is most likely only a reference to the mythical celestial weapons and command over the elements.† Whenever petroleum or naphtha was obtained, its use for hostile purposes has been appreciated, and the forms of its application have been various. One of the devices of Iskandar Zul-Karnain, in preparing for encounters with the Hindus, as related by Mīr Khwānd‡ was to make a number of hollow images in the form of soldiers, filled with dry wood and naphtha, to be set fire to in the midst of the battle. The great junks of the Chinese in the middle ages carried arms and naphtha to defend themselves against the pirates of India.§ The material used for fire-missiles in China in the beginning of the tenth century was known by the name of the “oil of the cruel fire.”|| A recent investigator on the subject of Chinese oils states that the petroleum of Shansi, Lechuen, and Formosa, is said to have been formerly employed by the Chinese in Greek Fire compositions.¶ For use in fire-rafts for destroying other vessels and wooden structures, petroleum is of course very suitable, and has been frequently so used.** And thrown upon ships from a distance, or directly applied in other ways, it well serves the same purpose.†† Bituminous fire shells are noticed by Tasso as used in the First Crusade (A. D. 1099).‡‡ In a descriptive Catalogue of

as in a translation published in the Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, Feb. 1862] and sparks of fire leap out. Out of his nostrils goeth smoke, as out of a seething pot or caldron. His breath kindleth coals, and a flame goeth out of his mouth.” Ch. xli. 19-21.

* *Vit. Apollon. Tyan. II*, 14.

† See *Uttara Rāma Charitra* (in Wilson's Hindu Theatre), pp. 14, 92, 96, &c.

‡ *Rauzat-us-safā*, *Shed's translation*, p. 400.

§ *Reinaud, Mémoires sur l'Inde*, p. 300.

|| *Grosé's Military Antiquities, II*, 309.

¶ *Dr. F. Porter Smith, on the oils of Chinese Pharmacy and Commerce. Journal of the Pharm. Soc.* 1874. (The reference is taken from a newspaper review.)

** *Lalanne, Feu Grégeois*, p. 45, &c., &c.

†† “At Dely there is a fountain of oil which is said to be unextinguishable when once it is set on fire; and with which the king of Achen burnt two Portuguese Galleons near Malacca about 8 or 10 years ago.” *M. Beaulieu's Voyage to the East Indies*, A. D. 1619 (in *Harris's Collection*, p. 250). The irresistible rapidity with which timber touched with petroleum is consumed by fire is illustrated in the recent destruction of the *Goliath* training ship.

‡‡ *Jer. Del. XII*, 42 (Fairfax's version)

Two balls he gave them, made of hollow brass,

Wherein enclosed, fire, pitch, and brimstone was.

misses the *bitumi* of the original.

Arabic Military books,* mention is made of a peculiar mode of carrying fire into a fight, on the face of shields furnished with large hollow bosses which were filled with naphtha and had matches applied at one or more little apertures. The device seems rather stupid and impractical, but these shields are said to have been used in the battle before Mecca, at the attack on that place by Hajjáj-bin-Yúsuf, before referred to, in A. H. 73 (A. D. 692.) Another form of combination of offensive with defensive arms has been devised in more modern times, which is not much better. The Yárkandís, as we learn from Sir D. Forsyth's account of his embassy, have "large circular shields gaudily painted with dragons and other hideous monsters on one side, and concealing, on the other, a gun-barrel set in a socket of wood, and serving also as a handle whereby to carry the shield."†

It has been a question whether the *scorpions*, often mentioned as offensive missiles, are to be taken in their literal meaning, or as representing some kind of actively inflammable preparation, called by this name on account of the sharp style of its attack and painful nature of its effects; just as some of the engines used in war bear the names of familiar animals with reference either to their form and appearance or to their mode of application.‡ One of these engines was called a scorpion.§ This question has been discussed by Sir Henry Elliot in the volume before referred to,|| in connection with the account in the *Túríkh-i-Alf* of the capture of the city of Násibín, in the time of the Khalífah 'Omar, in the seventh year after the death of Muhammad, when large black scorpions are said to have been made use of in the attack. In support of the supposition that "a combustible composition formed of some bituminous substances" may have been meant, he observes that the ancient Indian weapon or rocket called *satagni*, the hundred-slayer, also signifies a scorpion. And the fireworks mentioned in the book translated by Casiri, which gives occasion to Hallam's query about the *pulvis nitratus*, are described as being "in the form of scorpions". But though the name has been applied to fireworks and fire missiles as well as to a mechanical engine of war, yet seeing the distinct mention of these animals in many instances, (and of other offensive animal missiles thrown into besieged places) there need be no difficulty in accepting the literal interpretation. If the situation of the city of Nisibis (with reference to the capture of which place with the aid of scorpions the matter has been

* *Fihrist al-kutub fi 'ilm il-harb*, p. 64.

† *Report of a Mission to Yarkand*, in 1873, p. 13.

‡ Testudo, Musculus, Aries, Onager, Scorpio, Chat, Sow, &c., and, ironically, the *Bride* ('arús), as tender an instrument, in its way, as the *maiden* in our own country.

§ Said to have been invented by the Cretans. *Plin. N. H.*, VII, 57.

|| *Bibl. Index to the Moh. Hist. of India*, Calcutta, 1849, 146, 163. Dowson's Edition, V, 152, 550.

discussed) in a country supplying bituminous material, which actually was used for fire missiles in that neighbourhood, favours the former idea, at the same time it is a place noted for real scorpions, in modern as well as ancient days.*

Among the preparations for the great war on the plain of *Kurukshetra*, it is related that Duryodhana, having fortified his trench with towers, supplied the defenders of the towers with "pots full of snakes and scorpions, and pans of burning sand and boiling oil."† And there are numerous instances since that time of the similar use of the living animals.‡ The Emperor Leo gives instructions, in his *Tactica*, for this employment in war of serpents and scorpions.§ Larger creatures, dead and living, less directly hurtful but unpleasant, have often been thrown into besieged places for the annoyance of the defenders. Human beings have occasionally been projected in this way from the military machines;|| and it is related that on a certain occasion an unlucky engineer was accidentally hurled into a fortress by one of his own great engines.¶

The introduction of improved devices for war missiles, and particularly of gunpowder artillery, was, from various causes, slower in some countries than in others. Some nations from their position and opportunities, or by

* *Rev. J. P. Fletcher, Notes from Nineveh, I, 164.* The work published under the name of Ibn Haukal also mentions both serpents and scorpions in the neighbourhood of Nisibis; (*Ouseley's Geography of Ibn Haukal, 56*) and, it may be observed, also mentions another place noted both for naphtha springs and for a species of scorpion more destructive than serpents (p. 77).

† *History of India. J. Talboys Wheeler, I, 275.*

‡ Imperavit quam plurimas venenatas serpentes vivas colligi, easque in vasa fictilia conjici. * * Pergamenae naves quum adversarios premerent acrius, repente in eas vasa fictilia, de quibus supra mentionem fecimus, conjici coepta sunt. (*Corn. Nep. Hannibal, X. XI.*) Frontinus notices this incident among his devices of war, but seems to make a mistaken reference to the occasion. "Hannibal regi Antiocho monstravit ut in hostium classem vascula jacularentur viperis plena, quarum metu &c." (*Frontini Stratagemata IV, 10*). Other instances in the East. "And Khalaf cast at them pots full of serpents and scorpions/ from slinging machines." (*Kitáb-i-Yamíní, Memoir of Sabaktagín. Reynold's Transl., 54*). "Et præterea habebant et ignem Græcum abundanter in phialis et ducentos serpentes perniciosissimos." (*Itinerarium Regis Richardi, XI, 42, quoted by Lalanne, p. 44.*)

§ *Lalanne, Feu Grégeois, p. 27.*

|| *Yule's Marco Polo, II, 124.* Ibn Batûta relates an occurrence of this kind at Dihlí in 1325. (*Travels of Ibn Batuta, by Lee, 145.*)

¶ A modern artist has improved upon this by a voluntary performance of the same kind, according to a story which has appeared in recent English newspapers (Dec. 1875). The story is that a Parisian acrobat gets himself flung up to the high trapeze by being shot from a mortar; and that, on a late occasion, an overcharge of powder, or some other small error in the adjustments, sent him a little further than he intended, and landed him in the front row of the spectators.

reason of their aims and requirements, have been more receptive than others of such improvements in military matters. And some, pursuing careers of conquest or of enterprise, have been the chief means of communicating the knowledge of these improvements and inventions, which they themselves had acquired and brought into use. The Arabs early used the resources of the countries in their possession for the preparation of fire compositions for use in war, and, among others, (as we have seen) of gunpowder applied to fireworks; but their knowledge of the application of gunpowder to artillery there is every reason to believe was derived from Europe. Their active and extensive inroads into other countries, East and West, were long anterior to the days of gunpowder artillery.* The Spaniards, Prescott says, deriving the knowledge of artillery from the Arabs, had become familiar with it before the other nations of Christendom.† This is perhaps not well established. But the Spaniards and Portuguese, whether or not the knowledge was thus received and thus familiar, were the means of conveying it to eastern and other countries with which they traded and fought, or in which they settled; and sometimes they found themselves forestalled. If some people were specially apt in adopting the new weapon, in other countries there were hindrances of different kinds in the way of its introduction or general use. Sometimes of course the reason for artillery not being used was that it was not wanted. Then the cannon in early days were very cumbrous and very troublesome. The first field-pieces were so clumsy and so difficult to manage, that (as Prescott mentions) Machiavelli, in his *Arte della Guerra*, recommends dispensing with artillery.‡ Hume believes the French had cannon at the time Creci was fought, but left them behind as an encumbrance. It is not surprising, then, that some Asiatic nations, and others, were slow, as we find, in bringing gunpowder artillery into use. Few of those who had the means, failed, it may well be believed, to adopt this new instrument of war from under-rating its power and importance.‡

* "What an exalted idea must we not form of the energy and rapidity of such conquests when we find the arms of Islam at once on the Ganges and the Ebro, and two regal dynasties simultaneously cut off, that of Roderic, the last of the Goths, of Andaloos, and Dahir Despati in the valley of the Indus." (A.H. 99., A.D. 718). *Tod's Annals of Rajasthan*, I, 243.

† *Ferdinand and Isabella*, I, 277.

‡ And more probably from the feeling that they were happier days when it was not known: as good George Herbert sings,—

Deerat adhuc vitiiis nostris dignissima mundo
Machina, quam nullum satis execrabitur ævum.

* * * *

Exoritur tubus, atque instar Cyclopis Homeri
Luscum prodigium, medioque foramine gaudens!

* * * *

The number of guns that could be brought into use was for a long time very moderate, and they therefore did not at once supersede the previous contrivances. The English were among the first, after the properties of gunpowder had become known, to employ big guns. It was in the early part of the fourteenth century that this mode of applying gunpowder was first practised in Europe; and from that time it slowly advanced.* The *Ballistarius*, once an important official in our English fortresses, made way, perhaps more rapidly in Britain than elsewhere, but not all at once, for the *Master Gunner*. In the East, the *Naft-andáz*, or naphtha-thrower, was the co-adjutor of the *Manjaníkí* who worked the engines; and these have in due course been succeeded by the familiar *Gol-andáz* of the Indian native armies.†

Guns were brought into the field by the English at Creci in 1346. It is said by Tytler and others that Froissart makes no mention of the guns

Accedit pyrius pulvis—&c., &c.

* * * *

Dicite vos, Furiae, qua gaudet origine monstrum?

Inventa Bellica.

Milton, with the same feeling, ascribes the invention of both cannon and powder to infernal agency. *Pur. Lost*, B. VI.

* Chaucer, in a poem written probably about the end of the third quarter of the fourteenth century,—the transition period of artillery in Britain,—borrows illustrations from both the old and the new descriptions of military engines. It is in a didactic passage in "*The House of Fame*", in which he discourses on the nature of sound.

Soun is nought but air y-broken
And every speche that is spoken,
Whe'r loud or privy, foule or fair,
In his substance ne is but air.

After this, in noticing various descriptions of sound, he says,
And the noise which that I heard,
For all the world right so it fered,
As doth the routing of the stone
That fro the engine is letten gone.

And again,

Throughout every region
Y-went this foule trompes soun,
As swift as pellet out of gonne
When fire is in the powder rounne.*

† It is by a fine oriental figure of speech, and with no reference, now, to pyrotechnic functions of any kind, that another familiar Indian official, of humble rank, is styled a *Barq-andáz*, or 'darter of lightning'.

* One of the early kinds of cannon "was fired by applying a metal bar made red hot in the furnace to the powder contained in the chamber." *Viollet le Duc, Mil. Arch. of Mid. Ages*, 172.

at Creci. But a recent reviewer has indicated two manuscripts of Froissart in which they are distinctly mentioned as used by the English on that occasion. And he gives some quotations.* Froissart had spoken of guns employed at an earlier date,—at the siege of Stirling by the Scots in 1341. Tytler (*Hist. of Scotland, Vol. II.*, p. 60) says this is not corroborated by contemporary historians. But at a still earlier date they had been used in Britain, if, as is generally understood, guns are meant by the *war-crakes* (*crakys of weir*), mentioned by Barbour as having been first seen by the Scots in their skirmishes with Edward III's forces in Northumberland in 1327.†

But long after those days, in Britain and other countries where gunpowder and its modern application were well known, the employment of cannon had not made great progress. In India they were used by Bábar, as largely, it would seem, as the means and skill available would permit; and he was not much behind other countries in this respect. In 1528, when he had the aid of artillery in forcing the passage of the Ganges near Kanauj, he says, "For several days, while the bridge was constructing, Ustád 'Alí Kūlí played his gun remarkably well. The first day he discharged it eight times; the second day sixteen times; and for three or four days he continued firing at the same rate."‡ This was just fifteen years after Flodden, when artillery practice was at much the same stage in Britain.

Their marshall'd lines stretched east and west,
And fronted north and south,
And distant salutation pass'd
From the loud cannon mouth;
Not in the close successive rattle

* "Li Engles—descliquierent aucuns kanons qu'il avoient en le bataille pour esbahir les Genevois."

"Les Engles avoient entre eulx deulx des bombardieulx, et en firent deulx ou trois descliquer sur ces Genevois." And from another chronicle (St. Denis) the reviewer quotes, "Lesquels Anglois gietterent trois canons: dont il advint que les Genevois arbalestiers qui estoient au premier front tournèrent les dos et laissèrent à traire; si ne seet l'en sé ce fu par traïson, mais Dieu le seet." *Saturday Review, July 24th, 1875.* Review of *Edward III.* by Rev. W. Warburton, M. A. The reviewer makes these notes with reference to an observation of the author that Villani is the only historian who mentions the employment of cannon at Creci.

† Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland, IV*, 150. Note. Sir Walter Scott also gives a note in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* on this mention of guns by Barbour. Some early notices of powder and cannon are referred to by a writer in *Notes and Queries*, May 15th, 1869. The earliest date mentioned is *cir.* 1326.

‡ *Memoirs of Baber, tr. by Leyden and Erskine*, p. 379; *Erskine, Hist. of India under the first two sovereigns of the House of Taimur, Baber, and Humayun*, I. 486. *Dowson's Elliot, IV*, 279.

That breathes the voice of modern battle,
But slow, and far between.*

It was not till after many improvements and much further experience, during a long course of years, that things came to be done after this other manner.

The walls grew weak ; and fast and hot
Against them pour'd the ceaseless shot,
With unabating fury sent
From battery to battlement ;
And thunder-like the pealing din
Rose from each heated culverin.†

Bábar gives a name to the gun which his engineer and master-gunner, 'Alí Kūlí, managed in the way above mentioned :—("the gun which he fired was that called *Deg Gházi*, the victorious gun"—) from which it is seen that he had others, besides one which was put *hors de combat* at an early period in the engagement ("Another gun, longer than this, had been planted, but it burst at the first fire"). But it is not likely that the many other carriages (*'arāba*), mentioned in other accounts of his war equipment,‡ mean *guns*, but rather, (as supposed by M. Pavet de Courteille, the latest translation of Bábar's Memoirs, and by Prof. Dowson) carts of some kind, used for transport of ordnance stores and for other purposes in connection with the guns. Leyden (or Erskine) translates the word as *guns*, even when mentioning so large a number as seven hundred. This is out of the question. It appears indeed from other notices of Bábar's artillery that on some occasions, a single piece was all he had, though at other times he had several.§ "About noon-day prayers, a person came from Ustád with notice that the bullet was ready to be discharged, and that he waited for instructions. I sent orders to discharge it, and to have another loaded before I came up."|| A deal of work has often been done with a single gun. But the possession of the new weapon did not confer a very formidable superiority when this was the whole of the artillery.¶

* Marmion, VI, 23.

In the early days of artillery in Europe "it was usual for a field-piece not to be discharged more than twice in the course of an action." Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, I, 87.

† Byron, *Siege of Corinth*.

‡ Dowson's *Elliot*, *Tuzak-i-Bábari*, IV, 268, and Note.

§ James's ordnance, at Flodden, as given by Pitscottie, consisted of "seven cannons that he had forth of the Castle of Edinburgh, which were called the Seven Sisters, casten by Robert Borthwick, the master-gunner, with other small artillery, bullet, powder, and all manner of order, as the master-gunner could devise." *Marmion*, Note 3 D.

|| *Tuzak-i-Bábari*, Dowson, IV, 285.

¶ Reminding one of Hood's account of the arrangements for quelling an election riot, as supposed to be described in the letter of a country cousin at the scene of action.

India seems to have freely adopted the new instrument of war, while Persia was slow to use it, even after experience of its powers, and even after beginning to make use of it, did not take to it very kindly. The brass ordnance which contented the Indian commanders in Bábar's time, and after, was doubtless of a somewhat rough construction, as we read of Sher Sháh Súr, in 1543, issuing an order to his people to "bring all the brass in camp and make mortars (*deggha*) of it", to bombard the fort of Ráísín; and they brought their "pots, dishes, and pans," and made them into mortars.* This shows at all events a ready appreciation of the value of artillery. Something more pretentious than these extempore mortars, and more cumbersome, were the guns which, very soon after this, (in 1551) we hear of Islám Sháh (Sulṭán Salím) taking with him from Dihlí to Láhor, after Mírzá Kám-rán's flight from the court of Humáyún, to take refuge with him. Starting in haste he could not get a sufficient number of oxen in the villages near Dihlí, and "each gun was pulled by 2000 men on foot."†

At this time, and for long after, Persia was not so far advanced. One of the Jesuit missionaries, writing from Ormus in 1549, says of the *Soldanus Babylonicus*, the ruler of the territories adjoining, "qui modo *Catheamas* appellatur", (that is *Sháh Tahmásp*) "Hic bona ex parte Persis imperat, et in Regibus potentissimis jure optimo censetur. Eius robur omne ac vis copiarum equitatu constat, et peritissimis sagittariis. Nullis bombardis nec aliis huius generis tormentis utuntur. Sæpe cum Turcis, et quidem felici Marte belligerant."‡ They were not unacquainted with guns, and had suffered from the Turkish artillery in the time of this king's predecessor, Ismá'il Safí. And Herbert relates that when the Turks under Sulaimán invaded Persia, this same "Tamas, affrighted with their great ordnance, hyres 5000 Portugalls from Ormus and Indya, who brought 20 cannon along with them, and by whose helps the Turks were vanquished."§ The Turks were early noted for their attention to gunpowder artillery, and the armament of their forts seems to have been on a par with that which they brought into the field against the Persians and others. At the time when Father Gaspar wrote the above account of the defect of artillery in Persia, a French traveller and naturalist, M. Bellon, says of the fortifications of Sestos, which he saw in 1548, "Validis tormentis bellicis egregie muniti sunt, quæ explodantur (si necesse sit) in eas naves quæ sine licentiâ effugere, vel in Helles-

One passage runs somewhat in this fashion. "3 P. M. Riot increases. The military has been called out. He is at present standing opposite our door!"

* *Tárikh-i-Sher Sháhí*. Dowson's *Elliot*, IV, 401.

† *Tárikh-i-Dáúdí*. Dowson's *Elliot*, IV, 499. See also notices of artillery at this period in the *Tárikh-i-Rashidí*, V, 131, and *Tárikh-i-Alfí*, V, 172.

‡ *Epistole Indiceæ*, p. 38 (*Ep. M. Gaspari Belgeæ*).

§ *Tho. Herbert. Some Yeares Travels*, p. 289.

pontum vi perrumpere vellent.”* It was from the Portuguese that Persia had to obtain the assistance of guns. And twenty years before this, the Spaniards were using artillery in Mexico, and cast guns there for themselves.†

When, in the next century, Ormus was taken from the Portuguese by the Persians under Sháh 'Abbás the Great, with English assistance (1627), the armament of the defenders was something considerable, according to Herbert's account of it. “The brass Ordnance in the Castle and Rampires were divided; some say they were three hundred, others as many more: Howbeit, our men say there were only fifty-three great brasse peeces mounted, foure brasse cannon, six brasse demicannon, sixteen cannon pedroes of brasse, and one of iron, 9 culverin of brasse, two demiculverin of brasse, three of iron, ten brasse bases, seven brasse bastels, some basilisks of 22 foot long, and nintie two brasse peeces unmounted; which I the rather name, in that the Portugalls bragge they had small defence, and few Ordnance.”‡ At this time guns, both large and small, were in use in Abyssinia, having been introduced by the Turks and Arabs in occupation of various parts of the east coast of Africa.§ On the west coast of India also, at the same time, some skill in the use of artillery had been acquired by people not otherwise highly advanced. “*Mallabar*”, says Herbert, “is subdivided into many Toparchyes, all obeying the Samoreen, a naked Negro, but as proud as Lucifer.” “By long warres, they are growne expert and orderly: yea know how to play with Cannons, have as great store of Harquebuzes, and are as well acquainted with the force of powder, as we or any other nation.”|| A special ordnance department was instituted in India in Humáyún's time (when, as we have seen, artillery had come to play an important part),¶ preparing the way for the more complete arrangements under Akbar, who paid much attention to this part of his war equipment, and who was, himself, according to Abul Fazl, an improver and inventor of matters connected with this department.**

Persia continued to be backward in its artillery. In 1635, when Herbert was in that country, Sháh Safi, grandson of 'Abbás the Great, being king, the traveller writes, “In a common muster the Persian king can easily advance (as appears by roll and pension) three hundred thousand

* *Belloni's Observationes*, 186.

† *Prescott, Conquest of Mexico*, II, 266.

‡ *Herbert's Travels*, p. 118.

§ *Lettera Annua di Ethiopia*, Gasparo Paës, 1624.

|| *Herbert*, 300, 302. This disregard of clothing, by even the king, was in the preceding century (1443) remarked upon by 'Abd-ur-Razzák, author of the *Matla' us-sa'dain*, and afterwards by other European travellers. *Dowson's Elliot*, IV, 101, and *Note*.

¶ *Humáyún-námah*. *Dowson's Elliot* V, 123. *Tárikh-i-Rashidi* V, 133.

** *Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari*, *Ain* 36, I, p. 112.

horse, and seventy thousand good musquitoons." "Their harquebuz is longer than ours, but thinner and not so good for service. They can use that very well, but detest the trouble of the Cannon, and such field peeces as require carriage."* When Kaempfer was in Persia more than fifty years after (in 1692), they seem to have got no further. "Arma illis sunt lancea, sclopeta, arcus, et acinaces; tormentorum et mortariorum nullus illis in campo usus est."† India was much ahead, as we learn from Bernier's account of Aurangzib's artillery thirty years before this time.‡

After seeing the kind of progress that was being made in India and Persia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, one may be surprised to read, in the papers on the History of the Burma race, compiled by Sir A. Phayre from native sources, published in the J. A. S. B., that in the beginning of the fifteenth century, more than a hundred years before Bábar appeared with his guns on the bank of the Ganges, the king of Pegu, advancing up the Iráwadi against king Meng Khoung, did not dare to land and attack Prome, "as it was defended with cannons and muskets."§ The editor of the Journal has observed that this mention of guns and muskets in Burma in 1404 is rather remarkable. It is, if they were what we understand by cannons and muskets. But it suggests a question. This was a region abounding in petroleum. Is it not possible that these fire-arms may be explained in the same way as Mahmúd's *tóp* and *tufang*? (above, page 41). It is true that a traveller who was in India about that time (Nicolo Conti) says "the natives of central India" (by which he seems to mean a part he had not visited) "make use of balistae and those machines which we call

* P. 232. The objection to field guns is one that can be readily understood, from the similar experience of other countries, above referred to. Of a different kind was the dislike which a traveller in the previous century says the people of North Africa had to the smaller fire-arms. "All the Arabians that live towards the west, where the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco lie, do commonly carry spears about twenty-five hands long. They use no Musquets or Pistols, neither do they love 'em." (*Description of Africa. From John Leo and Marmol. Harris's Collection, I, 311.*) Tod says the same of the Rájputs of the same and later times. Writing of A. D. 1535 he says, "The use of artillery was now becoming general, and the Moslems soon perceived the necessity of foot for their protection; but prejudice operated longer upon the Rajpoot, who still curses "those vile guns" which render of comparatively little value the lance of many a gallant soldier." (*Rajasthan I, 310.*) See a parallel to this idea cited by Colonel Yule, *Marco Polo, II, 127.*

† *Amenitates Exotice*, 75.

‡ Cinquante ou soixante petites pièces de campagne, toutes de bronze; soixante et dix pièces de canon, la plupart de fonte, sans compter deux à trois cens chameaux légers qui portaient chacun une petite pièce de campagne de la grosseur d'un bon double mousquet. *Bernier, Voyages I, 296.*

§ *J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXVIII, Part I, 1869, p. 40.*

bombardas, also other warlike implements adapted for besieging cities ;”* but this does not appear to receive support from the Indian historians. Tavernier refers to a tradition of the early knowledge of powder and cannon in Pegu, believed to have been obtained from Asám. Writing of the attack at Asám by the “Grand Capitaine *Mirgimola* (Mír Jumlah) under the orders of Aurangzib, in 1652, (to which, the traveller observes, little resistance was expected, the country having enjoyed peace for five or six centuries, and the people having no experience of war), he says, “On tient que c’est ce même peuple qui a trouvé anciennement l’invention de la poudre et du canon, laquelle a passé d’Asem au Pegu et du Pegu à la Chine, ce qui est cause que d’ordinaire on l’attribue aux Chinois.”† We have seen that, in China, the petroleum of some of its western provinces is said to have been used in old time for a kind of Greek Fire.‡ Asám also, it may be observed, is a petroleum country. Perhaps this may confirm, in some measure, the above suggested explanation of the guns and muskets in Burma. Colonel Symes, in his account of the Embassy to Ava in 1795, considers that the Burmese learned the application of gunpowder from Europeans, though the substance may have been known before. “The musket,” he says, “was first introduced into the Pegue and Ava countries by the Portuguese.”§ Now-a-days Ava receives English muskets.|| In the Note on the intercourse of the Burmese countries with Western nations, in Chapter viii of Colonel Yule’s Narrative of the Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855, Portuguese muskets in Burma are noticed in the early part of the 16th century. There is no mention of artillery till 1658, when the guns on the ramparts of Ava, directed against the Chinese invaders, were said to have been served by a party of native Christians, under a foreigner who is, with some probability, supposed to have been an Englishman.¶ But the brief notices, in the chapter referred to, of the narratives of old travellers, were not made with a view to any special enquiry on this subject.

To the Chinese has been attributed, in a more or less indefinite way, a very early knowledge of gunpowder artillery. Gleig, in his “Sketch of the Military History of Great Britain”, says that “Robert Norton, the author of a treatise called *The Gunner*, which was published in 1664, * * * quotes Uffano, an Italian traveller in the East, as proving that not only gunpowder but cannon were used so early as the year 83 of our era by the

* *India in the 15th Century* by R. H. Major. (*Hakluyt Soc.*) *Travels of Nicolo Conti*, p. 31.

† *Voyages de J. B. Tavernier*, II, 427.

‡ D. F. Porter Smith, on the Oils of Chinese Pharmacy (quoted above).

§ *Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava in 1795*, II, 60.

|| *Yule’s Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855*, p. 75.

¶ *Id.*, p. 215.

Chinese, and that the alarm created by them was one great cause of the defeat at that time of a Tartar invasion.”* Few other writers, however, go so far back. The nature of the proof of this early use of cannon is not mentioned. Gibbon says that in China, in the thirteenth century, “in the attack and defence of places the engines of antiquity and the Greek Fire were alternately employed, and the use of gunpowder in cannons and bombs appears as a familiar practice.”† But the absence of all mention by Marco Polo of any such practice, while, in his account of the siege of Siang Yang in 1268 by Kublai, he records the manufacture and employment of mangonels and trebuchets, a short experience of which induced the Chinese garrison to surrender,‡ may throw some doubt on the Chinese knowledge of cannon at that time.

The exclusive and self-isolating practice of China through many ages, and the absence of authentic information regarding its early history, occasion possible errors in two opposite directions,—perhaps crediting the people of that country in early times with a state of advancement in arts and knowledge which they had not attained, perhaps again wrongly imagining them to have continued in primitive backwardness down to recent times. “There must have been a series of ages”, Sir Henry Maine has observed, with reference to matters of a different kind, “during which this progress of China was very steadily maintained; and doubtless our assumption of the absolute immobility of the Chinese and other societies is in part the expression of our ignorance.”§ This is very true; but, on the other hand, this same ignorance sometimes expresses itself in errors of an opposite kind. *Omne ignotum* has, in all ages, been apt to suggest something uncommon or wonderful; and of this kind seems to have been the idea that the Chinese were acquainted, before European nations, with gunpowder and cannon. MM. Reinaud and Favé, who have gone into the matter pretty fully in the work before quoted, thus conclude their statement of the result of the investigation, which leaves little ground for the Chinese claim to stand upon, “Ainsi tombe l’opinion exagérée que s’étaient faite plusieurs savants sur l’art des artifices de guerre chez les Chinois.”||

In the Note by Sir Henry Elliot on the Early use of Gunpowder in India¶ he quotes the opinion expressed by General Cunningham in his Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture (*J. A. S. B., Vol. XVII, Sept. 1848, p. 244*) with reference to the condition of the ruins of some of the old

* *Sketch of Mil. Hist. of Great Britain*, p. 100.

† *Decline and Fall*, Ch. LXIV.

‡ *Ful’s Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., II, 152.

§ *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions*, p. 227.

|| *Feu Grégeois*, p. 201.

¶ Original Vol. I. Note H, p. 340.

Hindu buildings in Kashmír, particularly those of the temples at Avantipura, that no agency but that of gunpowder could have reduced them to the state of entire destruction and confusion in which the materials of the structures are now found. And this destruction, if it was, as is supposed, the work of Sikandar, designated *But-shikan*, who was reigning at the time of Timur's invasion of India, occurred about the beginning of the fifteenth century. (Otherwise, gunpowder being used, General Cunningham supposes Aurangzib may have been the destroyer.) But other agencies appear sufficient to account for the condition of these buildings. During the interval,—a little more than quarter of a century,—since General Cunningham expressed this opinion, the fingers of Time, and moderate movements of the earth, have been making openings in some of the other old Hindu buildings in Kashmír; and from their appearance it may be believed that these same agencies, together with undermining work applied for wilful destruction, could do what has been done. The little temple of *Páyach*, so complete at the time of General Cunningham's visit on the occasion referred to, has now not only lost the pinnacle he describes,—which is a small matter,—but has its roof-stone, which is a single block, further dislodged than at that time, some of the other stones out of their places, and gaps as wide as two inches in the masonry of the basement, through which can be seen the interior filling of small boulders. At the splendid temple of Martand, the two side buildings which General Cunningham described are now seriously out of the perpendicular, and parts of the lower courses of masonry of the north-east angle of the main building have fallen out, painfully suggesting the probability that, unless measures are taken to re-support it (which it is hoped is now to be done) that corner of the building may ere long come down, and, with it, great part of the walls. If some such work of destruction were done purposely, perhaps suggested by,—partial injury of this kind from natural causes, the ruin might be as complete as that of the buildings at Avantipura. The whole of that country has long been noted for the frequency of earthquakes.* In the present century they have occasionally been severe. The earthquakes of June and July, 1828, which were repeated almost daily for weeks together, caused much destruction of house property in Srinagar, and large masses of rock are said to have been detached from the hill sides and thrown down. Gunpowder does not seem necessary to account for the ruin of these Kashmír temples.

While there appears to be no good evidence in support of the idea that

* "Je croirois," says Bernier, speaking of the legends regarding the opening of the Baramula pass by which the Jhelam issues from the placid level of the valley, "Je croirois plutôt que quelque grand tremblement de terre, comme ces lieux y sont assez sujets, auroit fait ouvrir, &c. &c." (*Voyages*, II, 269.) Abul Fazl notices the frequency of earthquakes in Kashmír. (Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbary*, II, 153).

Asia had a knowledge of gunpowder, and used fire-arms, before Europe, there are plain indications that the knowledge of the most improved weapons of war, both before and since the introduction of gunpowder, and the skill to make and to use them, came from Europe to India and other Asiatic countries.

It has been seen above how Kublai Khán employed *Western* engineers to construct and direct the machines he used in the siege of Siang-yang in 1268. The engines used by Sultán Jalál-ud-dín in his attack of the fort of Rantanbhor, A. D. 1290, are called *maghribíhá*, or *Western* (engines).* In the history of part of the reign of 'Alá-ud-dín Khiljí, from 1296 to 1310 (A. H. 695 to 710), called *Tárikh-i-'Aláí*, the author, to illustrate the great strength of the fort of Arangal, says, "if a ball from a western catapult were to strike against it, it would rebound like a nut."† Again, on one face of the fort, it is said the "western engines" succeeded in making several breaches.‡ The account of the same transaction given by Zia-ud-dín uses this same term *maghribí* for the *manjaníks* used on both sides.§

This indefinite term *Western*, as applied to the mechanical war engines of those days, is narrowed to *Firingíhá* as the designation of gunpowder artillery in Bábar's time. This is the term used in this account of the battle of Pánípat, April, 1526.|| Colonel Tod, in his account of the attack by Bahádur, Sultán of Gujarát, on the fort of Chitor, defended by Ráná Bikramájít, A. D. 1535, (S. 1591) says, "This was the most powerful effort hitherto made by the Sultans of Central India, and European artillerymen are recorded in these annals as brought to the subjugation of Cheetore. The engineer is styled '*Labri Khan, of Frengán*', and to his skill Bahadur was indebted for the successful storm which ensued."¶ It would appear that the employment of Europeans in a similar capacity at a much earlier period with the mechanical war engines is what is meant, in certain old narratives referred to by the same author, though their employment is not distinctly mentioned. He quotes from the "*Sooraj Prakás*" an account of the preparations of the king of Kanauj for opposing an invasion from beyond the Indus, in the 12th century, when "the king of Gor and Irak crossed the Attok", in which it is said that the invading army had

* *Tárikh-i-Firúz-Sháhi*, of Zia-ud-dín Barni, Dowson's *Elliot*, III, 146.

† *Tárikh-i-'Aláí*. Dowson, III, 80.

‡ *Id.*, III, 82.

§ *Tárikh-i-Firúz-Sháhi* (Zia-ud-dín). *Id.* II, 202.

|| *Erskine and Leyden's Memoirs of Baber*, 306. *Tuzak-i-Bábarí*, Dowson, IV, 255.

¶ *Tod's Annals of Rajasthan*, I, 310.

the aid of "the skilful Frank, learned in all the arts."* In a footnote Tod adds, "It is singular that Chand likewise mentions the Frank as being in the army of Shabudin in the conquest of his sovereign Pirthiraj."

The note in Erskine and Leyden's translation of Bábar's Memoirs, on the passage above referred to, about artillery at the battle of Pánipat, says of the term '*Feringiha*', "the word is now used in the Dekkan for a swivel."† I am informed by Mr. Shaw, lately our representative in Yárkand, that in a book which he obtained during his residence in Turkistán, relating to events in Yárkand in the beginning of last century, guns are designated *Firingí miltik*. (*Miltik* is the word given for *musket*, in the Vocabulary appended to Sir D. Forsyth's Report of the Mission to Yárkand in 1873.‡ It is perhaps used in a more general way also for fire-arms, like our *gun*.) The same term, *Firingí Miltik*, Mr. Shaw mentions, is now applied to Rifles. It may be inferred that it was for a similar reason that in the other instances above referred to, in earlier times, corresponding terms were used with reference to the engines and engineers, and then to the first gunpowder artillery used in India.

Alike in Asia and in Europe the earlier weapons of war continued, of necessity, to be used long after the introduction of gunpowder artillery, and along with it. The guns, few in number, were at first merely a small but startling addition to the ordinary implements of battle. At Pánipat, when Bábar's *Firingí* field-pieces were causing a new sensation, the smaller fire-arms were not yet in use, and throughout the account of the fight he relates how his troops poured in discharges of arrows on the enemy. When the Zamorin's subjects had become familiar with powder and modern fire-arms, as noticed above, still "in all fights", as Herbert goes on to say, "they also use bow and arrow, darts and targets, granads and variety of fire-works."§ * So of course did English bows, long after Creci, play the chief part in fights in which cannons also were brought into play.||

In Europe the fire missiles of the earlier days were both used along with modern guns and discharged by means of them. And the Greek Fire, having its composition and effects modified by gunpowder led the way to the later *balles ardentes* or *pots de feu*, and shells. Fire arrows even were among the kinds of missiles thrown from the early small-bore guns.¶

* Tod's *Rajasthan*, II, 8.

† P. 306. Also Dowson's *Elliot*, IV, 255.

‡ P. 548.

§ *Some Yeares Travels*, p. 302.

|| Mr. Grant Duff, in his Notes of his recent journey in India, mentions that an officer who accompanied him on his visit to the fort of Láhor (Jan. 1st, 1875) informed him he had had an arrow shot at him during the siege of Multán in 1848. (*Contemp. Rev.*, July 1875.)

¶ Nap. Louis Bonaparte. *Etudes sur le passé et l'avenir de l'Artillerie*, p. 43.

Froissart mentions Greek Fire used with modern artillery by the English at the siege of the castle of Romorantin in 1356. "Si ordonnèrent à apporter canons avant et à traire carreaux et feu grégeois dedans la basse cour." "Adonc fut le feu apporté avant, et trait par bombardes et par canons en la basse cour."* In their contests with the Moors in Granada, in 1485, the Spaniards threw from their engines large globular masses composed of certain inflammable ingredients mixed with gunpowder, which, "scattering long trains of light", caused much dismay.† The earlier cannon, M. Viollet le Duc says, in his work on the Military Architecture of the Middle Ages, "appear to have been often used, not only for hurling round stones as bombs, like the engines which worked by counterpoise, but likewise for throwing small barrels containing an inflammable and detonating composition such as the Greek Fire described by Joinville, and known to the Arabs from the twelfth century."‡ This application of Greek Fire, or some of these other compositions, is the device which the experienced campaigner, Rittmaster Dugald Dalgetty, brought to the notice of Sir Duncan Campbell of Ardenvoehr—"Still however the Captain insisted, notwithstanding the triumphant air with which Sir Duncan pointed out his defences, that a sconce should be erected on Drumsnab, the round eminence to the east of the castle, in respect the house might be annoyed from thence by burnieek bullets full of fire, shot out of cannon, according to the curious invention^{was} of Stephen Bathian, king of Poland, whereby that Prince utterly ruined^{nta-} great Muscovite city of Moscow. This invention, Captain Dalgetty^{equi-} he had not yet witnessed, but observed that it would give him part^{of} taken delectation to witness the same put to the proof against Ardenvoehr^d to this other castle of similar strength; observing that so curious an ex^{Grégeois.} could not but afford the greatest delight to all admirers of the^{se} servait art."§ The event which the Captain referred to belongs to the 1st in it be con- of the sixteenth century. In 1582, this Stephen Bathian or Bat^{ted in the} of Poland, made peace with Russia under Ivan II. lang.), Gré- (Diez, Ety-

We are generally accustomed, now-a-days, to look upon thtion of gré-application of any kind of Greek Fire to hostile or incendiary^t have been a thing of the past and only of historical interest. But the ex^{material is} abundance of the petroleum with which the world is now suppli^{he cruel fire.} title of the fire

* Froissart, I, 2, 26, quoted by Reinaud and Favé, 223; and Lalanne, *Fi* men of their

† Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, I, 277. The Catalogue of Arabic *My* familiar with before referred to speaks of the use of cotton dipped in oil, with *da*, while profes- which may mean fire-powder; the burning power of fire arrows being^{strothed}, Chap. by the addition of some gunpowder composition of the earlier kind used ^{tries}, as well as *Fihrist* &c., p. 64.

‡ Translation by M. Macdermott, p. 170.

§ Legend of Montrose, Chap. X.

of learning, and the arts that

nished the means, as well as suggested the idea, of its use for this purpose. With all the resources of modern skill and appliances, Greek Fire was brought into use at the siege of Charleston in 1863,—not without some expressions of public disapproval.* The secret manufacture of Greek Fire in Dublin, for Fenian use, in 1867 received a check by the arrest of the artist. It is not forgotten how burning petroleum was brought into use, in a not very edifying manner, by the communists in Paris in 1870; and since that time by more than one party in Spain.

The occasional revivals of disused weapons and practices of war make but little mark on the line of continuous progress in the art of preparing war fire material. It is likely that the advances from one kind of fire weapon and fire composition to another have all been gradual, and that to no definite time or single individual can be attributed the invention or discovery of either Greek Fire or gunpowder. The usual account of Greek Fire, which implies that it was one distinct and specific composition, is that it was invented by Callinicus, an architect of Heliopolis (Ba'lbek), who deserted from the service of the Caliph to that of the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus (the bearded) in the latter half of the seventh century, that its composition was a secret, and the art was preserved at Constantinople, that the secret afterwards passed in some way to the Muhammadans, that the use of the Greek, or, as it may now be called, says Gibbon, the Saracen fire was continued to the time of the invention or discovery of gunpowder, and that the secret has since been lost.† Grose adds another supposition, that it was the invention of Arabian chymists, and the researches made since his time show this to be at least equally likely.

The various preparations for which receipts are given in the Arabic books quoted by MM. Reinaud and Favé have probably all been recognised as forms of the fire compositions which, under whatever name at the time, caused much terror to those against whom they were used, and were afterwards known by the common name of Greek Fire; though the fire so called which was most alarming and destructive was liquid, that is, apparently,

* A feeling which had been strongly expressed in a less advanced age. MM. Reinaud and Favé quote from a manuscript treatise on the Art of War by Christian of Pisa, in the reign of Charles VI, of France (beginning of the fifteenth century), “Mais comme telles choses à faire ne enseignier pour les mauix qui s'en pourroient ensuivre soient deffendues et excommuniées, n'est bon d'en mettre en livres ne plus plainement en réciter, pour ce qu'à crestien n'appartient user de telles inhumanités qui meesmement sont contre tout droit de guerre.” On which the modern authors observe—“Remarquons que l'auteur ne parle pas du feu grec comme d'une chose inconnue, mais comme d'un moyen de guerre déloyal.” *Feu Grégeois*, p. 220.

† *Gibbon*, A. D. 668—675.

Beckmann's History of Inventions and Discoveries, IV, 84.

Grose's Military Antiquities, II, 309.

was prepared with petroleum. It was not one single mixture compounded after the prescription of Callinicus. Nor does there appear to have been any secret in the matter, nor does the art appear to have been at any time lost.* Only all people had not command of the most essential materials of the composition, and in particular, of the petroleum or naphtha, which is frequently named as the chief or only combustible thus used.†

With still less certainty can the invention or discovery of gunpowder be assigned to any particular time or person. When it is claimed for Roger Bacon or Berthold Schwartz, it comes to little more than this, that they were attentive students of the chemistry of their time and acquainted with compositions of the nature of gunpowder, and that they recorded what they knew and had seen. It was, however, apparently without knowing or noting the capabilities of gunpowder for application to military purposes.‡ From the various combinations of the ingredients for use in fire-works, the advance was great which resulted in the application of the compound to explosive and projectile purposes, and its preparation in a form suitable for those uses. The discovery of its expansive power would, it might be sup-

* See Reinard and Favé, *Chap. VIII*, p. 219, &c.

† A question arises whether a mistake is not made in the use of the term *Greek Fire*; not merely the question suggested by its uncertain history, whether or not it was in any sense of Greek origin, but whether the word "*Greek*" is the right representation of the term from which it is taken. Is the term "*Greek Fire*" or any exact equivalent, used before the time of the *Crusade Chronicles* in which it appears in the form *Feu Grégeois*? And are the names since used, *Iquis Græcus*, *Greek Fire*, &c., taken from this? Then what is *Grégeois*? The word is almost, if not entirely, limited to this particular application of it. The Dictionary of the French Academy says "*Grégeois*. Il n'est usité que dans cette locution, *feu grégeois*, espèce d'artifice dont on se servait anciennement à la guerre," &c. It is not used as a synonym of *Grec*. Can it be connected with any other word? The old French verb *gréfier* is thus interpreted in the *Complément* of the French Academy's Dictionary. "*Grégier*, v. a. et n. (V. lang.), Gré-ver, Aceabler, Faire tort." And gréver is from *gravis*; (*grève* = grief). (*Diez, Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages*, by T. C. Donkin.) A derivation of *grégeois* from *gréfier* does not appear impossible or fanciful. May it not have been a descriptive epithet of the fire, *grievous* or *terrible*? Just as in China the material is said to have been known in the tenth century by the name of "*oil of the cruel fire*." (*Grose, II*, 309). The suggestion is perhaps not worth much. But the title of the fire to the name *Greek* does not appear clear.

‡ Not that this would have been set aside as being of no concern to men of their profession. Sir Walter Scott's picture of an energetic monk, technically familiar with the construction and working of the mechanical war engines of his time, while professing that they did not come within the range of his studies, (*The Betrothed*, Chap. VIII) is probably not a mere personal portrait. Inmates of monasteries, as well as other ecclesiastics, of the Middle Ages, while they were the conservators of learning, and the cultivators of the ornamental arts, did not neglect to keep an eye on the arts that pertained to war.

posed, be readily followed by the invention of cannon. Yet though this property of gunpowder was known to Roger Bacon, no form of instrument for applying it to the purpose of propelling missiles of any kind seems to have been known till long after. And the invention of cannon does not appear to be assignable now, any more than that of gunpowder, to any particular individual.*

The compositions above referred to, for which the Arabs had receipts in times preceding the knowledge of gunpowder artillery in Europe, appear distinctly to have been applied as combustibles,—in fire-works and fiery missiles. They were forms of fire-powder, not gunpowder. And they may have been the first to make them. Colonel Favé, in his *Etudes sur le passé et l'avenir de l'Artillerie*, goes further, however, and says “Les Arabes paraissent avoir été les premiers à lancer les projectiles par la force explosive de la poudre à canon.”† It may be so, but there does not appear to be good evidence of it. They led the way to gunpowder, through Greek Fire and fire-works, and made it, but did not apparently find out, before European nations, its most important form and application.

It has been noticed that the use of modern artillery made very unequal progress in different countries. The use of gunpowder, like that of Greek Fire, was, in its early days, largely dependent on the facilities for procuring the materials and manufacturing the powder, or on the facilities for obtaining the powder ready-made from other countries. With communications imperfect and tedious, supplies of gunpowder would be uncertain. An Eastern traveller in the beginning of the seventeenth century says that at that time a place in the neighbourhood of Achin “supplies in a manner all the Indies with sulphur to make powder of.”‡ This was rather a wide general statement. In Scotland, a few years after the time of which this traveller writes, it is recorded, under date July 19th, 1626, that “amongst the preparations for war at this time, the Privy Council, reflecting on the inconveniences of being wholly dependent on foreign countries for gunpowder, empowered Sir James Baillie of Lochend, Knight, to see if he could induce some Englishmen to come and settle in Scotland for the manufacture of that article.”

* History says nothing in support of the pretensions of Butler's claimant “Maggano, great in martial fame”;

Of warlike engines he was author,
Devised for quick dispatch of slaughter.
The cannon, blunderbus, and saker,
He was th' inventor of, and maker.

Hudibras, Part I, Canto 2.

† Quoted in *Quarterly Review*, July 1868. Art. IV. “Gunpowder.”

‡ *M. Beaulieu's Voyage to the East Indies, A. D. 1619. Harris's Collection, II, 250.*

The arts pertaining to weapons and munitions of war spread now over a wide field. In the line on which they were started by the introduction of gunpowder they have made great advances in the hands of different nations of Europe. With no essential change, of the kind which took place when gunpowder artillery came into use, the minute improvements in execution, and careful attention to accuracy, in modern times, and particularly in the present century, have made changes nearly as important. Great as the difference between the old and the new war engines, in the days when they worked together, as great probably are the differences of another kind between Bábar's *firingí* field-pieces at Pánípat and the Armstrongs of the present day.

*Were the Sundarbans inhabited in ancient times?—By H. BEVERIDGE,
B. C. S.*

This is a question which has excited a great deal of attention. The Bengali mind as being prone to the marvellous and to the exaltation of the past at the expense of the present, has answered the question in the affirmative and maintained the view that there were formerly large cities in the Sundarbans. Some Bengalis also have suggested that the present desolate condition of the Sundarbans is due to subsidence of the last, and that this may have been contemporaneous with the formation of the submarine hollow known as the "Swatch of no ground". It seems to me, however, to be very doubtful indeed that the Sundarbans were ever largely peopled, and still more so that their inhabitants lived in cities or were otherwise civilized. As regards the eastern half of the Sundarbans, namely, that which lies in the districts of Bákírganj and Noákhálí and includes Sondíp and the other islands in the estuary of the Megna, it seems to me that the fact of so much salt having been manufactured there in old times militates against the view of extensive cultivation; for the salt could not have been made without a great expenditure of fuel, which of course implies the existence of large tracts of jungle. Du Jarric speaks of Sondíp as being able to supply the whole of Bengal with salt, and it seems evident that in old times salt was reckoned as the most valuable production of this part of the country. How inimical this must have been to a widespread cultivation of the neighbouring tracts may be judged of from the fact that in modern times the salt manufacture by Government was a great obstacle to the clearing and colonization of the churs and islands, as the Government officers insisted on the jungles being maintained for salt-manufacture. The zamíndárs also of Dakhin Shabbázipur obtained, as I have elsewhere stated, a large reduction of their land revenue on account of part of their lands being taken up for the use of the salt works.

Sondíp itself was, it is true, cultivated in Cæsar Frederick's time (1569), but so it is now, and there is no reason to suppose that its civilization was greater then than it is at present. It may have, but then it certainly had, some thirty or forty years later, one or two Forts, which were marks of insecurity rather than of prosperity, and which do not exist now, simply because the Aracanese and the Portuguese pirates are no longer formidable. Ralph Fitch visited Bacola in 1586, and describes the country as being very great and fruitful. He does not, however, expressly say that Bacola was a city, and it is possible that the people lived then as now in detached houses, and did not lodge together in any great town or mart. But even if we take the words "the houses be very fair and high builded, the streets large" (a most unlikely thing in any oriental city) to mean that there was a city of Bacola and give full credence to Fitch's statements, the next clause of the description, *viz.*, "the people naked, except a little cloth about their waist" does not suggest the existence of much civilization or refinement.

Moreover, there is nothing to show that Bacola was in what are now known as the Sundarbans. It probably was the same as Kochúá, which, according to tradition, was the old seat of the Chandradíp Rájás. But Kochúá is at this day one of the most fertile and best cultivated parts of Bákirganj, and is the only place in the south of the district which contains a large Hindu population. No doubt there has been a great amount of diluviation near Kochúá, and the river between the mainland and Dakhin Shabbázipur has become much wider than it was in old times. In this way the old city of Bakla and much of its territory may have disappeared, and to this extent there probably has been a decay of civilization, but this is a different thing from the supposition that the tract now existing as forest was formerly inhabited by a civilized people. It seems to me also that Fitch cannot have been a very observant traveller, as otherwise he would have noticed the terrible storm which overwhelmed Bakla only a year or two before his visit, and that therefore we should not press his statement too far. Possibly all physical traces of the storm had disappeared, but surely people must still have been telling of it, and Fitch must have heard of it if he stayed at Bakla any time or had any intercourse with the inhabitants.

Another thing which indisposes me to believe in the early colonization of the eastern part of the Sundarbans is the terrible hardships which the crew of the "Ter Schelling" suffered on this coast in 1661. The "Ter Schelling" was a Dutch vessel which sailed from Batavia for Onguéli (Hijlí) in Bengala on 3rd September, 1661, and was wrecked off the coast of Bengal in the first half of the following month. The narrative of the voyage and shipwreck, and of the subsequent adventures of the passengers and crew was written by one of them. The author was, I believe, a

Dutchman, and his account was first published at Amsterdam and afterwards at London in 1682 under the title of 'Relation of an unfortunate voyage to the kingdom of Bengala'. The passengers and crew seem to have landed on an island near Sondip, and their sufferings from hunger were most terrible. They were compelled to live on most disgusting objects such as a putrid buffalo, a dead tortoise, "leganes", serpents, snails, and the leaves of trees, and to drink salt water. They saw very few inhabitants, and those whom they did come across seemed to be almost as poor and miserable as themselves and to have been driven out from more civilized regions. They were several times on the eve of resorting to cannibalism, but eventually they got to Sondip, where they were kindly treated and sent on to Bulwa (Bhaluá). The prince of Bulwa was also kind to them, and sent them on to Decke (Dháká), where they were impressed and made to serve in the war under Mír Jumlah against Asám. Unfortunately the author does not clearly indicate the site of the shipwreck, but it was evidently somewhere on the sea coast of the Sundarbans. The people whom he met, or at least some of them, appear to have been Muhamadans, for they used the expression 'salaam'.

In Professor Blochmann's Contributions to the Geography of Bengal, No. I. (J. A. S. B., 1873, Pt. I., p. 227), reference is made to Van den Broucke's map in Valentyn's work as showing the place where the "Ter Schelling" was wrecked.

I may also notice here that the copper-plate inscription found at Idilpur in Bákírganj, and described in the Asiatic Society's Journal for 1838, seems to imply that the inhabitants of that part of the country belonged to a degraded tribe called the Chandabhandas—a fact which is not favourable to the supposition of an early civilization of the Sundarbans.*

By far the most interesting account of the Sundarbans is contained in the letters of the Jesuit priests who visited Bakla and Jessore in 1599 and 1600. Their letters were published by Nicolas Pimenta and have been translated into Latin and French. I was indebted for my introduction to them to my friend Dr. Wise, who told me that they were quoted in Purchas's Pilgrimage. Extracts from the letters and the subsequent history of the mission are also given by Pierre Du Jarric in his 'Histoire des choses plus mémorables advenues aux Indes Orientales', Bordeaux, 1608-14.

It appears that Pimenta, who was a Jesuit visitor and stationed at Goa, sent two priests, Fernandez and Josa, to Bengal in 1598. They left Cochin on 3rd May, 1598, and arrived in eighteen days at the Little Port (Porto Pequino). From thence they went up the river to Gullo or Goli,

* *Vide*, however, Mr. Westmacott's remarks on this name, J. A. S. B., 1875, Pt. I, p. 6.

where they arrived eight days after leaving the 'Little Port'. While at Gullo, they were invited by the Rájá of a place, called Chandecan (in Italian Ciandecan), to pay him a visit, and accordingly Fernandez sent Josa there, and he was favourably received by the king. One year after these two priests had left Cochin, Pimenta sent two other priests, namely, Melchin de Fonseca and Andrew Bowes, to Bengal, and they arrived at Chittagong or at Dianga some time in 1599. On 22nd December, 1599, Fernandez wrote from Sripur, giving an account to Pimenta of the success of the mission, and on the 20th January, 1600, Fonseca wrote from Chandecan, giving an account of a journey which he had made from Dianga to Chandecan by way of Bakla. Fonseca's letter is most interesting. He describes how he came to Bacola, and how well the king received him, and how he gave him letters patent, authorising him to establish churches, &c., throughout his dominions. He says that the king of Bakla was not above eight years of age, but that he had a discretion surpassing his years. The king "after compliments asked me where I was bound for, and I replied that I was going to the king of Ciandecan, *who is to be the father-in-law of your Highness*. These last words seem to me to be very important, for the king of Ciandecan was, as I shall afterwards show, no other than the famous Pratápadya of Jessore, and therefore this boy-king of Bakla must have been Rámchandra Rái, who we know married Pratápadya's daughter. Fonseca then proceeds to describe the route from Bakla to Chandecan and I shall give this in the original Italian.

Il viaggio di Bacolá sin a Ciandecan è il piu fresco, delizioso ch'io mai vedessi, per i varii fiumi con alberi alle rive ch' irrigano il paese, e per vedersi da una parte correre numerose schiave di cervi, per l'altra pascere moltitudine di vacche; lascio le campagne spatiose di viso, e li molti canneti di canne mele, gli sciami d'api per gli alberi, e le simi andar saltando da uno albero all' altro e altri particolarita di grande recreatione a viandanti. Non mancono però Tigri e Crocodili che si pascono di carne humana, per trascuragine, e peri peccoti d' alcuni. Sono ancora per quelle selve Rinoceroti ma io non ne ho visto veruno."

Now though the good father evidently had an eye for natural scenery and was delighted with the woods and rivers, it is evident that what he admired so much must have appeared to many to be "horrid jungle", and was very like what the Sundarbans now are. In fact, a great part of this description of the route from Bakla to Ciandecan is still applicable to the journey from Barísál to Kálíganj, near which Pratápadya's capital was situated. The chief difference is, that the progress of civilization has driven away the herds of deer and the monkeys from the ordinary routes, though they are still to be found in the woods, and the deer have given their name to one of the largest of the Sundarban rivers (the Haringhátá). The

faithfulness of Fonseca's description seems indicated by his modestly admitting that he had never seen a rhinoceros, while stating (quite truly) that there were such animals in the forest. Had he come upon any town on his route, it is reasonable to suppose that he would have mentioned it. Fonseca arrived at Ciandecan on the 20th November, and then he found Fernandez's companion Dominic de Josa, who must either have been left there by Fernandez in 1598, or had returned some time afterwards. The king received Fonseca with great kindness—so much so, that he says he does not think a Christian prince could have behaved better. A church was built at Ciandecan, and this was the first ever erected in Bengal and was as such dedicated to Jesus Christ. Chittagong was the second, and then came the church at Bandel, which was erected by a Portuguese named Villalobos.

The fair prospects of the mission as described by Fernandez and Fonseca were soon overclouded. Fernandez died in November 1602 in prison at Chittagong, after he had been shamefully ill-used and deprived of the sight of an eye; the king of Ciandecan proved a traitor, and killed Carvalho the Portuguese Commander, and drove out the Jesuit priests. Leaving these matters, however, for the present, let us first answer the question, Where was Ciandecan? I reply that it is identical with Pratápaditya's capital of Dhúmghát, and that it was situated in the 24-Parganahs and near the modern Káliganj. My reasons for this view are first that Chandecan or Ciandecan is evidently the same as Chánd Khán, and we know from the history of Rájá Pratápaditya by Rám Rám Bosu (modernised by Harish Tarkalankar) that this was the old name of the property in the Sundarbans, which Pratápaditya's father Vikramádivya got from king Dáúd. Chánd Khán, we are told, had died without heirs, and so Vikramádivya got the property. And there is nothing in this contradictory to the fact that Jessore formerly belonged to Khánja 'Alí [Khán Jahán]; for Khánja 'Alí died in 1459, or about 120 years before Vikramádivya came to Jessore, so that the latter must have succeeded to some descendant of Khánja 'Alí, and he may very well have borne the name of Chánd Khán. When the Jesuit priests visited Ciandecan, Pratápaditya cannot have been very long on the throne, and therefore the old name of the locality (Chánd Khán) may still have clung to it.

But besides this, Du Jarric tells us that after Fernandez had been killed at Chittagong in 1602, the Jesuit priests went to Sondíp, but they soon left it and went with Carvalho the Portuguese Commander to Ciandecan. The king of Ciandecan promised to befriend them, but in fact he was determined to kill Carvalho, and thereby make friends with the king of Arakan, who was then very powerful, and had already taken possession of the kingdom of Bakla. The king therefore sent for Carvalho to "*Jasor*", and there had him murdered. The news reached Ciandecan, says Du Jarric,

at midnight, and this perhaps may give us some idea of the distance of the two places.

I do not think that I need add anything to these remarks except that I had omitted to mention that Fernandez visited Ciandecan in October, 1599, and got letters patent from the king. As an additional precaution, Fernandez obtained permission from the king to have these letters also signed by the king's son, who was then a boy of twelve years of age. The boy may have been Udayaditya, and so he must have been only three or four years older than Rámchandra Rái of Bakla.

I must not omit to point out that the fact that Vikramáditya chose Jessore as a safe retreat as the strongest possible evidence of the jungly nature of the surrounding country. It is true it had been cultivated in the previous century by Khánja 'Alí, but the experiment had proved a failure, and the land had in the time of his successor (?) Chánd Khán relapsed into jungle.

To sum up, it seems to me that the Sundarbans have never been in a more flourishing condition than they are in at present. I believe that large parts of Bákirganj and Jessore were at one time cultivated, that they relapsed into jungle, and that they have soon been cleared again, and I have also no doubt that the courts of the kings of Bakla and of Ciandecan imparted some degree of splendour to the surrounding country. But I do not believe that the gloomy Sundarbans on the surface of Jessore and Bákirganj were ever well peopled or the sites of cities.



On Human Sacrifices in Ancient India.—By RÁJENDRALÁLA MITRA, LL. D.

Nothing can be more abhorrent to modern civilization than the idea of slaughtering human victims for the propitiation of the great Father of the universe; yet, looking to the character of the different systems of religion which governed the conscience of man in primitive times, it would by no means be unreasonable to assume *à priori* that such an idea should have been pretty common, if not universal.

The tendency to assign human attributes to the Divinity was a marked peculiarity in almost all systems of religion that then got into currency. The ideal of God was derived from the concrete man. The attributes were doubtless magnified manifold, but their character remained the same—they differed only in degree, but not in kind. A being of unlimited power, of profound erudition, of great subtlety, was what the untutored finite mind of man could conceive in its aspirations to grasp the infinite; and as those aspi-

rations were inspired by a dread of some, to it, unknown force which brings on misfortune, the human susceptibilities of being vexed at disobedience and appeased by flattery and peace-offering, were early attributed to him. In fact a cruel, fierce, vindictive being, whose grace could be purchased by coaxing and presents, was one of the earliest conceptions of the Godhead among primitive races. With the advancement of civilization this conception was materially and greatly purified and improved, but the idea of winning the good-will of an offended, or indifferently disposed, being of great power could not be shaken off, and the coaxing and the presents had, therefore, to be retained under some shape or other. All mantras, charms, and prayers—all offerings, oblations and sacrifices—in fact, the whole history of religion, may be looked upon as the gradual development of this cardinal idea. And inasmuch as the efficacy of an offering, in the case of man, is dependant upon its nearness of relation and preciousness to the offerer, and in primitive times the prime of the flock was the most valued article of possession, sacrifices of animals naturally obtained the highest place in the cultus of ancient worshippers. The owner of the flock was, of course, the nearest and most precious to himself, and his children, the next after him, and accordingly they would be deemed the most appropriate to be offered as sacrifices; though, generally speaking, the main object of worship, in early times, having been the temporal good of the worshipper, it was by no means convenient for him to offer himself as a sacrifice for it. Children, particularly when there happened to be several in a family, could be more readily spared, and they would accordingly be more frequently given up for the purpose.

Again, working out, with reference to the Divinity, the human practice of professing submission by putting oneself into privations and degradation in the presence of the person whose good-will has to be secured, penance and mortification early formed a part of religion, and indeed have been co-extensive with religion itself; and the conclusion was soon arrived at, that if the mortification of the flesh was gratifying to the Divinity, its entire dedication to Him would be much more so. But self-love here intervened, and suggested the idea of substitutes or vicarious sacrifice, which has exercised so potent an influence in the evolution of the religious cultus everywhere.

Further, rejoicings after success in warfare formed a most important element in the annals of primitive society, and as such successes were universally acknowledged to be due to divine interference, the idea of offering to the intervener the fruits thereof was but natural, and the offering of prisoners-of-war as sacrifices was the obvious conclusion arrived at. The extreme difficulty of keeping in security and feeding large bodies of prisoners-of-war has often suggested the necessity of summarily disposing of them by slaughter,—even Napoleon I., it is said, once felt compelled to resort to the odious method of poisoning some of his sick comrades whom he could

not carry away in his march from Jaffa,*—and in ancient times, with no secure prisons and defective commissariat arrangements, when the victors themselves had to depend upon chance for their own rations, it must have been but too frequently felt; and two massacres under such compulsion would suffice to give them a religious character, and render them sacred.

The capital punishment of criminals at stated times would also assume a similar character in a short period. Vindictiveness has, likewise, had a share as much in suggesting human sacrifices as in bringing anthropophagism into vogue.

Moreover, it being admitted that a fierce, sanguinary divinity, who helped his worshippers in achieving success in warfare, would delight in receiving sanguinary offerings, vows and promises to make them on the result of a projected, or impending, battle proving favourable, or on the attainment of some coveted object, would naturally follow; and the simple-minded people who made such vows and promises would not fail to keep them with punctilious care.

Moreover, the practice, so common in pre-historic and proto-historic times (and not altogether a thing of the past in the present day), of showing respect or affection to chiefs and seniors at their funerals by slaughtering, and sometimes, but rarely, burying alive some of their wives, concubines, and slaves, as also their horses and dogs, to accompany them, and to minister to their comfort in another world, was, by its frequent repetition on so solemn an occasion as a funeral, just what would give a religious character to such slaughter, and convert it into a holy sacrifice.

Yet again, the art of the magician, which in primitive times included that of the sorcerer and the soothsayer, had to resort to the most outlandish, uncouth, and extraordinary means to retain its hold on the minds of ignorant, credulous, and superstitious people, and what could be more mysterious and awe-inspiring than communion with the dead and the slaughter of human beings under the most harrowing circumstances? and that such slaughter under the peculiar state of ancient society would be associated with religion was but natural.

Lastly, a vitiated desire for human flesh as an article of choice food was, it would seem, pretty prevalent in rude primitive barbarous times, but as this desire could not be satisfied except at uncertain times when strangers or prisoners were available, the indulgence in it necessarily partook of the character of a feast, and that again soon passed into a religious observance.

* Dr. Desgentiles, in his *Histoire Médicale de l'Armée d'Orient*, denies this charge, but Napoleon himself says, "I was obliged to leave behind all who could not follow us. There were fifty men sick of the plague who could not move with the army, and who must be left to the ferocious Djazzar. I caused opium to be administered to them to release them from their suffering." (Jomini, I, p. 231.) The charge was at the time generally believed.

Thus anthropopathy resulting in devotion, penance, rejoicings, vows and a desire to avert evil, or secure a coveted object by divine intervention, vindictiveness, expediency, respect for the dead, necromancy and depraved appetite, would all tend to human sacrifices; and that they did so, is abundantly evident from the history of human civilization in ancient times. To quote, however, a few instances by way of proofs, though many of them must be familiar to most of my readers.

The Phœnicians frequently offered human victims to their sanguinary gods Ba'al and Moloch to appease their thirst for blood. The Carthaginians did the same to the same divinities. The Druids, both in Great Britain and Scandinavia, likewise, satisfied the spirit of their gods by human sacrifices, often burning large numbers of men in wicker baskets. The Scythians testified their devotion by immolating hundreds at a time. In the Thargalia of the Athenians, a man and a woman were annually sacrificed to expiate the sins of the nation. Homer mentions that twelve Trojan captives were killed at the funeral of Patroclus,* and Menelaus was seized by the Egyptians for sacrificing young children with the Greek notion of appeasing the winds.† As an act of vindictive devotion, Augustus immolated three hundred citizens of Perusia before his deified uncle Divus Julius. The cruel practice of the Cyclops feasting on their prisoners-of-war is well known. According to Euripides, "the most agreeable repast to the Cyclops was the flesh of strangers,"‡ and Homer describes that six of the comrades of Ulysses were devoured by Scylla in the cavern of the Cyclops.§ One passage on the subject gives a vivid picture of the cruel practice, and I quote Pope's version of it entire.

"He answered with his deed; his bloody hand
Snatched two unhappy of my martial band,
And dashed like dogs against the rocky floor.
The pavement swims with brains and mingled gore.
Torn limb from limb, he spreads the horrid feast,
And fierce devours it like a mountain beast.
He sucks the marrow, and the blood he drains;
Nor entrails, flesh, nor solid bone remains.
We see the death, from which we cannot move,
And humbled groan beneath the hand of Jove." *Od. L. I., v. 282.*

Doubtless there is much poetical embellishment in this extract, but divested of it it shows that the Cyclops indulged in human sacrifice. The cavern evidently was, like many others on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, temples where the horrid rite of anthropothusia was regularly observed,

* *Il. XI. 33.*

† *Herodot., II. 119.*

‡ *Euripides, Cyclops, V. 126.*

§ *Bryant's Ancient Mythology, II., pp. 15 ff.*

and shipwrecked mariners were the persons who afforded the readiest victims.

The Lamiae and the Lestrygons were equally cruel in their religious observances. Adverting to the former, Bryant says, "The Lamiae were not only to be found in Italy, and Sicily, but Greece, Pontus, and Libya. And however widely they may have been separated, they are still represented in the same unfavourable light. Euripides says that their very name was detestable. Philostratus speaks of their bestial appetite, and unnatural gluttony. And Aristotle alludes to practices still more shocking: as if they tore open the bodies big with child, that they might get at the infant to devour it. I speak, says he, of people, who have brutal appetites.*

These descriptions are perhaps carried to a great excess; yet the history was founded on truth: and shews plainly what fearful impressions were left upon the minds of men from the barbarity of the first ages.

"One of the principal places in Italy, where the Lamiae seated themselves, was about Formiae; of which Horace takes notice in his Ode to Ælius Lamia.

Æli, vetusto nobilis ab Lamo, &c.
Auctore ab illo ducis originem,
Qui Formiarum mœnia dicitur
Princeps, et innantem Maricæ
Littoribus tenuisse Lirim.

"The chief temple of the Formians was upon the sea-coast at Caiete. It is said to have had its name from a woman who died here: and whom some make the nurse of Æneas, others of Ascanius, others still of Creusa.† The truth is this: it stood near a cavern, sacred to the god Ait, called Ate, Atis, and Attis; and it was hence called Caieta, and Caiatta. Strabo says, that it was denominated from a cave, though he did not know the precise etymology.‡ There were also in the rock some wonderful subterraneous, which branched out into various apartments. Here the ancient Lamii, the priests of Ham, resided:§ whence Silius Italicus, when he speaks of the place, styles it Regnata Lamo Caieta.|| They undoubtedly sacrificed children here, and probably the same custom was common among the Lamii, as prevailed

* Aristol. *Ethics*, L. 7., c. 6, p. 118.

† Virgil. *Æn.* L. 7. V. 1.

‡ Strabo, L. 5, p. 357.

§ Ibid., p. 356.

|| Silius, L. 8.

among the Lacedæmonians, who used to whip their children round the altar of Diana Orthia. Thus much we are assured by Fulgentius, and others, that the usual term among the ancient Latines for the whipping of children was Caiatio. Apud Antiquos Caiatio dicebatur puerilis cædes.”*

It is generally believed that the Syrens were no other than priestesses of anthropothusiæ temples on the coast of Campania, and they derived their infamous notoriety, most probably, from the part they took in the immolation of shipwrecked mariners; “for Campania at one time was as dreaded as Rhegium and Sicily, for the dangers which awaited those who navigated their coasts.” The priestesses were invariably selected with special reference to their personal charms, and the most important part in the service of their temples was singing of hymns in which the Syrens were so far perfect, that they were formerly believed to have been the daughters of Terpsichore according to some, and of Melpomene or Calliope according to others. After quoting the account of the Syrens given by Homer (*Od. M. v. 39 et seq.*), Bryant says “The story at bottom relates to the people abovementioned, who with their music used to entice strangers into the purlieus of their temples, and then put them to death. Nor was it music only, with which persons were induced to follow them. The female part of their choirs were (*sic*) maintained for a twofold purpose, both on account of their voices and their beauty. They were accordingly very liberal of their favours, and by these means enticed seafaring persons, who paid dearly for their entertainment.”† That Scylla, who destroyed some of the followers of Ulysses and of whom mention has already been made, was a priestess of this class, is now generally admitted. According to Tzetzes, “she was originally a handsome wench, but being too free with seafaring people, she made herself a beast.” “Ἦν δὲ πρῶτον Σκύλλα γύνη εὐπρεπής. Ποσειδῶνι δὲ συνούσα ἀπεθηνώθη.” The story of Saturn devouring his own children—a failing which has also been attributed to Ops, and, according to a passage of Euhemerus transmitted by Ennis, said to have been common among “the rest of mankind”—*Saturnum et Opem, cæterosque tum homines humanam carnem solitos esitare*—is very justly supposed by Bryant to be due to the practice of immolation of children in the temples of that divinity “in a ceremony styled *ῥιμοφάγια*, at which time they eat the flesh quite crude with the blood. In Crete, at the Dionusiaca they used to tear the flesh with their teeth from the animal, when alive. This they did in commemoration of Dionusus. *Festos funeris dies statuunt, et annum sacrum trietericâ consecratione componunt, omnia per ordinem facientes, quæ puer moriens aut fecit, aut passus est. Vivum laniant dentibus taurum, crudeles epulas annuis commemorationibus excitantes.* Apollonius Rhodius, speaking of persons like to Bacchanalians,

* De Virgilianâ continentia, p. 762. Bryant's *Ancient Myth.* II., pp. 15 ff.

† Bryant's *Ancient Mythology*, II, p. 20.

represents them (Θυσίῳ ὀμοβοροῖς ἔκειλαι) as savage as the Thyades, who delighted in bloody banquets. Upon this the Scholiast observes, that the Mænades, and Bacchæ, used to devour the raw limbs of animals, which they had cut or torn asunder. In the island of Chios it was a religious custom to tear a man's limb by way of sacrifice to Dionusus. The same obtained in Tenedos. It is Porphyry who gives the account. He was a staunch Pagan, and his evidence on that account is of consequence. He quotes for the rites of Tenedos Euelpis the Carystian. From all which we may learn one sad truth, that there is scarce any thing so impious and unnatural, as not at times to have prevailed.* It is said, Orpheus first put a stop to this disgustingly cruel custom; but, according to some, he only stopped the practice of eating raw flesh, but did not succeed in altogether suppressing the rite.

Referring to the inhabitants of Cyprus, Herodotus says: "The people of this place worship the virgin goddess Artemis; at whose shrine they sacrifice all persons who have the misfortune to be shipwrecked upon their coast: and all the Grecians that they can lay hold of, when they are at any time thither driven. All these they, without any ceremony, brain with a club. Though others say that they shove them off headlong from a precipice, for their temple is founded upon a cliff."† This Artemis was the counterpart of the Indian Káli, to whom human sacrifices were offered until very recently, as will be shown further on. Even the casting of the victim headlong from the top of a cliff was not unknown in India, for we are informed by Dr. Hendley in his interesting account of the Maiwár Bháis (*ante* XLIV, p. 350) that "at installations at Jodhpur, buffaloes and goats are to this day sacrificed in front of the four-armed Devi, and thrown down the rock face of the fort. So again, at the very ancient temple of Devi on the Chitor Hill." "These are," he adds, "relics of aboriginal worship;" but of this there is no proof. "A goat is still offered daily at the shrine of Ambádeví, at Amber the ancient capital of Dhundár, or Jaipúr, as a substitute for the human victim formerly stated to have been sacrificed at the same place." The story of the Deví who wanted and got seven consecutive royal victims from a chieftain of Chitor, so spiritedly narrated by Colonel Tod, must be fresh in the mind of the reader.

The Assyrians, like the people on the shores of the Mediterranean, freely indulged in human sacrifices, and imagined that such sacrifices were the most acceptable offerings they could make to their gods.

According to Diodorus "red-haired men were formerly sacrificed by the Egyptian kings at the altar of Osiris.‡" And Plutarch quotes a

* Bryant's Ancient Mythology, II, pp. 12 ff.

† L. iv, C. 103.

‡ Diodor., I. 88.

passage from Manetho to show that "formerly in the city of Idithya, they were wont to burn even men alive, giving them the name of Typhons, and winnowing their ashes through a sieve to scatter and disperse them in the air; which human sacrifices were performed in public, at a stated season of the year during 878."* Herodotus denied the correctness of these statements; and Sir Gardner Wilkinson argues that "it is directly contrary to the usages of the Egyptians, and totally inconsistent with the feeling of a civilized people;" but religious observances and social customs are such irreconcilable riddles that *à priori* arguments founded on them appear to me to be simply unfit for the elucidation of truth. Few would question the civilization of the Romans—so much higher than that of the Egyptians—or admitting it deny the fact that they devoted their prisoners-of-war to carnage for the entertainment of the people of their metropolis; not to advert to their practice of sacrificing human victims until so recently as the first century before the Christian era, when (A. U. C. 657) during the consulship of Cneius Cornelius Lentulus and P. Licinius Crassus a decree was promulgated by the senate prohibiting human sacrifices.† The horrors of the Inquisition during the middle ages may also be referred to, to show how the immolation of large numbers of men may be consistent with a high state of civilization and a humane religion. Certain it is that the principles on which human sacrifices got into currency were fully recognised by the Egyptians; thus they held that "sacrifices ought not to be of things in themselves agreeable to the gods, but, on the contrary, of creatures into which the souls of the wicked have passed" (Plutarch, *des Is.* s. 31); they offered the entrails of the dead to certain inferior gods or genii; and their kings, after every victory, repaired to the temple of their chief divinity, "performed sacrifice, offered suitable thanksgivings", and lastly "dedicated the spoil of the conquered enemy, and expressed their gratitude for the privilege of laying before the feet of the god, the giver of victory, those prisoners they had brought to the vestibule of the divine abode."‡ It may be that the actual sacrifice of men took place at a very early period, and it was subsequently replaced by emblematic offering; but there is no reason to doubt that at one time or other the rite of anthropothusia did obtain currency among them. Wilkinson, with all his anxiety to defend the credit of the Egyptians, is constrained to admit this.§

The ancient Jews were in many respects better than their neighbours, but the idea of human sacrifice seems not to have been unknown to them. When Abraham was commanded to offer up his son, he did not even evince

* *Athen.*, IV. p. 172.

† *Pliny*, XXX, c. 3.

‡ *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians* II, p. 286.

§ *Ibid.*, II. p. 343.

any repugnance or surprise, and the vow of Jephtha, which was literally carried out by the sacrifice of his daughter, affords a positive proof on the subject. The offering of children to Moloch, which the Jews evidently borrowed from their neighbours, is also remarkable as bearing strongly on the question at issue.

Of all the different races of America, the Aztecs were the most civilized. Their social institutions, their palaces, their elective form of government, were such as to claim for them a very high position as a nation, and yet their addiction to human sacrifice was such as would disgrace the lowest savages. At their coronations, "the new monarch", says Prescott, "was installed in his regal dignity with much parade of religious ceremony; but not until, by a victorious campaign, he had obtained a sufficient number of captives to grace his triumphal entry into the capital, and to furnish victims for the dark and bloody rites which stained the Aztec superstition."* The number immolated at such times was prodigious; nor was the coronation the only time when this horrid rite was celebrated. Adopted in the beginning of the fourteenth century, it was not very frequent at first; "it became", according to the historian, "more frequent with the wider extent of their empire till at length, almost every festival was closed with this cruel abomination."† The total was variously estimated at from twenty thousand to fifty thousand in ordinary years, and rising, on great occasions, such as a coronation or the dedication of an important temple, as that of Huitzilpotehli in 1486, to a hundred thousand. The heads of the victims were preserved in Golgothas, in one of which the companions of Cortes counted one hundred and thirty-six thousand skulls. The details varied according to circumstances, and the nature of the divinity to whose honour the rite was celebrated, but they were generally of the most disgusting and cruel kind possible; attended by preliminary tortures, which Prescott justly compares with the fantastic creations of the Florentine poet as pictured in the twenty-first canto of his 'Inferno'. Neither sex nor age offered an immunity to the unfortunate captive from his cruel doom, and in seasons of draught, infants were particularly sought as the meetest offering to the rain-god Tlaloc. The object in this case was exactly the same for which the Khonds of western Orissa sacrificed their Meriah to the Earth Goddess, Tári Pennu, and the manner in which they treated the Meriah corresponds in many respects with that of the Aztecs. The following extract gives the details of an ordinary sacrifice of the Aztecs:

"One of their most important festivals was that in honour of the god Tezcatlepoça, whose rank was inferior only to that of the Supreme Being. He was called 'the soul of the world', and supposed to have been its Crea-

* Conquest of Mexico, I, p. 22.

† Ibid., p. 67.

tor. He was depicted as a handsome man, endowed with perpetual youth. A year before the intended sacrifice, a captive, distinguished for his personal beauty, and without a blemish on his body, was selected to represent this deity. Certain tutors took charge of him, and instructed him how to perform his new part with becoming grace and dignity. He was arrayed in a splendid dress, regaled with incense, and with a profusion of sweet-scented flowers, of which the ancient Mexicans were as fond as their descendants at the present day. When he went abroad, he was attended by a train of the royal pages, and, as he halted in the streets to play some favourite melody, the crowd prostrated themselves before him, and did him homage as the representative of their good deity. In this way he led an easy, luxurious life, till within a month of his sacrifice. Four beautiful girls, bearing the names of the principal goddesses, were then selected to share the honours of his bed; and with them he continued to live in idle dalliance, feasted at the banquets of the principal nobles, who paid him all the honours of a divinity.

"At length the fatal day of sacrifice arrived. The term of his short-lived glories was at an end. He was stripped of his gaudy apparel, and bade adieu to the fair partners of his revelries. One of the royal barges transported him across the lake to a temple which rose on its margin, about a league from the city. Hither the inhabitants of the capital flocked, to witness the consummation of the ceremony. As the sad procession wound up the sides of the pyramid, the unhappy victim threw away his gay chaplets of flowers, and broke in pieces the musical instruments with which he had solaced the hours of captivity. On the summit he was received by six priests, whose long and matted locks, flowed disorderly over their sable robes, covered with hieroglyphic scrolls of mystic import. They led him to the sacrificial stone, a huge block of jasper, with its upper surface somewhat convex. On this the prisoner was stretched. Five priests secured his head and his limbs: while the sixth, clad in a scarlet mantle, emblematic of his bloody office, dexterously opened the breast of the wretched victim with a sharp razor of *itztli*, a volcanic substance hard as flint,—and, inserting his hand in the wound, tore out the palpitating heart. The minister of death, first holding this up towards the sun, an object of worship throughout Anahac, cast it at the feet of the deity to whom the temple was devoted, while the multitudes below prostrated themselves in humble adoration. The tragic story of this prisoner was expounded by the priests as the type of human destiny, which, brilliant in its commencement, too often closes in sorrow and disaster."*

Nor did the Aztecs rest satisfied with this offering to their gods. "The most loathsome part of the story, the manner in which the body of the

* Conquest of Mexico, I, pp. 68ff.

sacrificed captive was disposed of, remains to be told. It was delivered to the warrior who had taken him in battle, and by him, after being dressed, was served up in an entertainment to his friends. This was not the coarse repast of famished cannibals, but a banquet teeming with delicious viands, prepared with art, and attended by both sexes, who, as we shall see hereafter, conducted themselves with all the decorum of civilized life. Surely, never were refinement and the extreme of barbarism brought so closely in contact with each other.”* Well may the historian exclaim, “Strange that in every country the most fiendish passions of the human heart have been kindled in the name of religion.”

The neighbours of the Aztecs, the Toltecs and the Tezcaucans, as also the Incas, indulged in the loathsome and revolting rite, and often waged war with each other, simply for the sake of obtaining captives for their gods. It is even said that such wars were sometimes amicably arranged solely for the sake of captives for sacrifice.†

In South America, the Peruvians were strongly addicted to human sacrifices, and the Araucanians, though they are said to have been “sensible to the dictates of compassion”, and a mild, sensible race averse to cruelty, were nevertheless sometimes given to the same practice. They celebrated a rite called *Pruloucon*, or “the Dance of the Dead”, at which a prisoner-of-war was “sacrificed to the manes of the soldiers killed in the war.” After subjecting the unfortunate victim to various kinds of ignominy, such as making him ride a horse deprived of his ears and tail, symbolically burying the good deeds of his national chiefs, and the like, “the Toqui, or one of his bravest companions to whom he relinquishes the honour of the execution, dashes out the brains of the prisoner with a club. The heart is immediately taken out by two attendants and presented palpitating to the general, who sucks a little of the blood, and passes it to his officers, who repeat in succession the same ceremony, in the mean time he fumigates with tobacco-smoke from his pipe the four cardinal points of the circle. The soldiers strip the flesh from the bones, and make of them flutes; then cutting off the head, carry it round upon a pike amidst the acclamations of the multitude, while, stamping in measured pace, they thunder out their dreadful war-song, accompanied by the mournful sound of these horrid instruments.”‡

Of cannibalism pure and simple, such as that of some of the Pacific Islanders; of the people of Equatorial Africa, some of whom, the Murirumbites for instance, like human flesh raw, and others, like the Wadœ of the Coast, prefer to eat it roasted;§ of the “Mongols, who, according to

* Conquest of Mexico, p. 71.

† Ibid, p. 74. *Vide passim* Heaviside's *American Antiquities*.

‡ Abbé Don J. Ignatius Molina's *History of Chili*, II, p. 79.

§ Burton's *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, II, p. 114; also Du Chaillu's *Explorations in Equatorial Africa*.

Sir John Maundeville, regarded human ears "sowced in vynegre as a delectable dish"; of the Dyaks of Borneo who delight in "head-hunts"; of some South Eastern Chinese and Japanese of the middle ages, who drank the blood and eat the flesh of their captives, esteeming it the most savoury food in the world; of the Tartars, Turks, Mongols, Tibetans, Javanese, Sumatras and Andamanese* I need say nothing. The facts are well known; and however repulsive it may be to our common humanity to be told of the fact, it cannot be denied, that men under certain circumstances of society, do take to human flesh as an article of food.

That the practice of immolating wives, concubines, and slaves, at first originating from a mistaken sense of the future world and the requirements of the manes, did lead to associating such slaughter with religion can scarcely be doubted. Dr. Thurnem has put together a large number of instances of this practice, and the curious in such matters will find incontrovertible proofs on the subject in the thirty-seventh, the thirty-eighth, and the forty-second volumes of the *Archæologia*. The cruel rite of Satî must have originated from this cause, though the love and constancy of Hindu women soon gave it a high character for devotion as a voluntary sacrifice. The immolation of twelve Trojan youths, along with two dogs and four horses, on the funeral pyre of Patroclus† belongs to this class; and Tertullian says—"Olim quoniam animas defunctorum humano sanguine propitiari creditum est, captivos vel mali status servos mercati in exsequiis immolabant. Postea placuit impietatem voluptati adumbrare. Ita mortem homicidiis consolabantur."‡—It is supposed by some that the broken bones found in the Long Barrows of Great Britain are mostly of persons buried alive along with the individuals to whose honour the barrows were raised. The opinion, however, has, I believe, not been generally accepted by antiquarians.

* Col. Yule has collected a large number of facts illustrative of this subject, and I must refer the reader to his note. Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., I. pp. 302 ff.; II. pp. 245, 265, 275, 292. Adverting to Christianity, he says "The story of King Richard's banquet in presence of Saladin's ambassadors on the head of a Saracen curried (for so it surely was),—

'Soden full hastily
With powder and with spysory,
And with saffron of good colour'

fable as it is, is told with a zest that makes one shudder; but the tale in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, of how the licentious bands of ragamuffins, who hung on the army of the First Crusade, and were known as the *Jufurs*, ate the Turks whom they killed at the siege, looks very like an abominable truth, corroborated as it is by the prose chronicle of worse deeds at the ensuing siege of Thorra." *Loc. cit.*

† II. XXIII, 239.

‡ Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*, XII.

The human sacrifices in the temples on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, to which reference has already been made, were often connected with soothsaying, the priests foretelling the future from the appearance of the entrails of the victim, and elsewhere the connexion of human sacrifice with necromancy, magic, sorcery, and other dark arts can be easily pointed out. Some alchemists slaughtered infants to help them in their attempt at discovering the elixir of life ; but I doubt if it led to any religious sacrifice.

The only two instances I am aware of of periodical jail delivery of prisoners sentenced to capital punishment leading to a religious festival, are the horrid rite which keeps the Ashantis in a whirl of excitement for a whole week every year, and that of the Yucatanans ;* but they are quite enough to show that the conclusion I wish to draw from them, is perfectly legitimate.

The Persians were, perhaps, the only nation of ancient times who did not indulge in human sacrifice. As constituting the agricultural section of the great Aryan race, they contented themselves by offering the fruits of the field for the gratification of their divinity. And the Hindus, as more intimately connected with them than with the other branches of the Aryan race, we may suppose, did not differ much from the Persians ; but it is also certain that religious differences, depending principally upon the leaning of the Hindus in favour of animal sacrifice, made them break off from their brethren, and depart from their primitive home, and what is true of the Persians need not, therefore, necessarily be so of the Hindus. Besides there is nothing to show that they were incapable of doing what their contemporaries, the Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans did in the way of religious rite, and what appears from the instances quoted above to have been a failing or predilection common to almost all mankind. They were certainly highly civilized for the time in which they flourished, and the spirit of their institutions was so benign and pacific, that it may strike us as inconsistent to associate with it the disgusting rite of human sacrifice. Arguing upon these premises, Colebrooke and Wilson have come to the conclusion "that human sacrifices were not authorised by the Veda itself, but were either then abrogated and an emblematic ceremony substituted in their place, or they were introduced in later times by the authors of such works as the *Kaliká Purána*."† As a Hindu writing on the actions of my ancestors—remote though they are,—it would have been a source of great satisfaction to me if I could adopt this conclusion as true ; but I regret I cannot do so consistently with my allegiance to the cause of history. Doubtless the institutions of the Vedic Hindus were of a benign and humane character, and that they did not tolerate brutality to the extent that other ancient nations indulged in, I can well believe ; but it must be added also that benign and

* Fancourt's *History of Yucatan*, p. 126.

† *Journal, R. As. Soc.*, XIII, p. 107.

humane as was the spirit of the ancient Hindu religion, it was not at all opposed to animal sacrifice; on the contrary, most of the principal rites required the immolation of large numbers of various kinds of beasts and birds. One of the rites enjoined required the performer to walk deliberately into the depth of the ocean, and drown himself to death. This was called *Maháprasthána*, and is forbidden in the present age. Another, an expiatory one, required the sinner to burn himself to death, on a blazing pyre—the *Tushánala*. This has not yet been forbidden; and it is what Calanus performed in the presence of Alexander the Great. The gentlest of beings, the simple-minded women of Bengal, were for a long time in the habit of consigning their first-born babes to the sacred river Ganges at Sagar Island, and this was preceded by a religious ceremony, though it was not authorised by any of the ancient rituals. For centuries men have courted death under the wheels of Jagannátha's car, under the delusion of that being the most meritorious act of devotion which they could perform, and with the fond assurance that they would thereby secure for themselves the highest reward in a future life. And if the spirit of Hindu religion has tolerated, countenanced, or promoted such acts, it would not be by any means unreasonable or inconsistent to suppose that it should have, in primitive times, recognised the slaughter of human beings as calculated to appease, gratify, and secure the grace of, the gods.

But to turn from presumptive evidence to the facts recorded in the Vedas. The earliest reference to human sacrifice occurs, according to the Hindus, in that most ancient record of the Aryan race, the *Saṁhitá* of the Rig Veda, to which obviously Colebrooke and Wilson refer by the use of the word Veda in the singular number. The first book of that work includes seven hymns* supposed to have been recited by one *S'ناهsépha* when he was bound to a stake, preparatory to being immolated. He prays earnestly that he may be allowed "to behold again his father and mother"; that "Varuṇa, undisdainful, may bestow a thought upon him"; that "he may not take away his existence"; that "he may not make the petitioner an object of death"; that he "may loose the petitioner from the upper bonds, and untie the centre, and the lower, so that he may live." One verse says "*S'ناهsépha*, seized and bound to the three-footed tree (the sacrificial post), has invoked the son of Aditi; may the regal Varuṇa, wise and irresistible, liberate him; may he let loose his bonds." (p. 63.) These quotations afford a strong presumptive evidence that *S'ناهsépha* was intended for a sacrifice; though there be no positive mention of the fact in the *Saṁhitá*, and the hymns contain many prayers for wealth, cattle, and other blessings, which any person may ask without being in the position of a victim at a cruel sacrifice.

* Wilson's Rig Veda, I, pp. 59 f.

The Aitareya Bráhmaṇa of the Rig Veda gives the details of the story which connects these hymns with a human sacrifice. The story has been quoted at length by Wilson, in his paper "On the sacrifice of Human Beings as an Element of the Ancient Religion of India"* and by Max Müller, in his "Ancient Sanskrit Literature" (pp. 408 ff.); who has also printed the text, and pointed out the variations of the Sāṅkháyaṇa Sūtra version of it (*ibid.*, p. 573); it likewise occurs in its place in Haug's translation of the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa (pp. 460 ff.), I need not, therefore, reproduce it here. Suffice it to say that according to it, one Harishchandra had made a vow to immolate his first-born to Varuṇa, if that divinity would bless him with children: a child was born named Rohita, and Varuṇa claimed it; but the father evaded fulfilling his promise, until Rohita, grown up to man's estate ran away from home, when Varuṇa afflicted the father with dropsy; at last Rohita purchased one Śunahsépha from Ajigarta for a hundred head of cattle, had him tied to a stake, and was about to have him immolated in redemption of his father's vow to Varuṇa, when the victim, at the suggestion of Viśvámitra, recited the hymns, and was thereby released. The story is, with some slight variations in minor details, reproduced in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The Aitareya Bráhmaṇa gives seriatim the initials of the several hymns as they were supposed to have been recited, and as they occur in the Sañhitá, but the other works refer to them generally, without any specific quotation.

It is unquestionable that the works in which the story is given, are of ages long subsequent to the date of the Sañhitá, and their evidence cannot be accepted as conclusive. Arguing upon this datum and the absence of all mention of a human sacrifice in the Sañhitá, Rosen, Wilson and others are of opinion that the hymns cannot be associated with a human sacrifice. Wilson explains that the "upper, middle, and lower bonds" referred to in the hymns, and which Indian commentators accept to mean the thongs with which the head, the waist, and the legs of the victim were tied to the sacrificial post, have been used metaphorically to imply the bondage of sin; but he admits that the reference to the "three-footed tree," the sacrificial post, "is consistent with the popular legend."† He says nothing about the seizure, referred to in the verse above quoted, but that too affords a strong argument in favour of the interpretation adopted by the author of the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa. We have also to bear in mind that, whatever their age, the Bráhmaṇas are the oldest exposition we possess, of the origin, scope and purport of the hymns of the Sañhitás, dating as they do, according to European orientalists, from five to ten centuries before the Christian era, and to reject their interpretation in favour of conclusions drawn by persons of this century, would be to reject proof in favour of conjecture; and that conjecture

* Journal, R. As. Soc., XIII, pp. 96 ff.

† Rig Veda, I, p. 63.

founded in many instances upon very contracted and narrow views of modern canons of criticism, of laws of unity and propriety, of consistency and habits and modes of thinking, which are not always applicable to those records.

It may be noted also that the conclusion drawn by the learned orientlists from the above facts is, that the sacrifice of human beings did not form an element of the ancient religion of India, and this is not warranted by the premises. Doubtless the details of a sacrifice are not given in the Sañhitá, but, taking the Sañhitá to be, as it unquestionably is, only a collection of hymns divested of all connecting links, we have no right to expect them there. It would be as reasonable to expect all the details of a story in a hymn improvised by the hero of it, to meet a particular contingency, as to expect the whole plot of a novel from a single speech in it. The absence of reference to any rite, custom, or observance, in a book of hymns, however sacred that book may be, is no proof of that rite, custom, or observance having never existed among those who held the said hymns to be sacred. To accept it as such, is to attach an importance to negative evidence to which it has no claim, and in the case under notice there is enough, as shown above, to warrant an opposite conclusion.

Besides, "the ancient religion of India", referred to by the learned Professors Wilson and Rosen, can mean either the religion of the aborigines, or that of the Indo-Aryans, and as in the case of the former no reference would be required to the Vedas, it is to be presumed that the early religion of the Indo-Aryans is referred to; and if so, we cannot look to the Sañhitá apart from the Bráhmaṇas. What we call ancient Hinduism is founded on the Bráhmaṇas, and cannot possibly be dissociated from it. We can easily conceive that the religion of the Aryans before they had finally settled in India differed from it in many respects, and we can found conjectures about it on certain slender facts to be gleaned from the Sañhitá of the Rig Veda and the Zendavesta; but we cannot, without misleading, call that religion, whatever it was, "the religion of ancient India." The Bráhmaṇas may have, for aught we know to the contrary, changed the ancient rites, and introduced new ones; and it is unquestionable that many of their legends and anecdotes were got up merely by way of illustrations, and have no claim to be believed as true, (the professors of the Mimāṃsá school stigmatize them often as *arthaváda* or eulogistic) but we cannot discard them, and replace their testimony by conjecture.

At any rate the story of Śunahśepha must be accepted as a positive proof in favour of the theory that at the time of the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa, the Hindus did tolerate human sacrifice. To assume that the sacrifice referred to in it was a symbolical one in which there was no intention whatever to make a sanguinary offering, would be totally to destroy the *raison d'être* of the legend, to divest it of all its sensational elements, and to make it con-

quite flat, stale, and unprofitable. The great object of the legend, whether it be intrinsically true or false, was to extol the merits of the hymns in rescuing a victim from a sacrificial stake; but if the stake be divested of its horrors, that object would be entirely defeated. Then, if Harischandra did not intend actually to give up his son to Varuṇa, the promise to "sacrifice his son when born" would be unmeaning, and the frequent evasions he resorted to, by saying, "an animal is fit for being sacrificed when it is more than ten days old"; "it is not fit for sacrifice until it has teeth"; "it is not fit until the milk teeth are shed"; "it is not fit until the permanent teeth are all come out"; "a man of the warrior caste is fit for being sacrificed only after having received his full armour", were quite uncalled for, and gratuitous attempts at cheating a dread divinity whom he adored, and to whom he was bound by a solemn vow; for he could have at any time easily subjected the son to the ceremony of being tied to a stake, and after repeating a few mantras over him let him off, perfectly sound in wind and limb. The running away of the son from his father would also be unmeaning; the purchase of a substitute stupid; the payment of a fee of a hundred head of cattle to undertake the butcher's work quite supererogatory; and the sharpening of the knife by Ajigarta a vain preliminary. The Bráhmaṇa makes Śunahśepha express much disgust at the sight of Ajigarta, his father, sharpening a knife to slaughter him. "What is not found even in the hand of a Śúdra", it makes him say, "one has seen in thy hand, the knife to kill thy son"; but it has not a word in depreciation of the rite itself. It is said in the Bráhmaṇa that Śunahśepha, after his rescue, was so disgusted with his father that he forsook him, and became the adopted son of Viśvámitra, who named him *Devarát* or *Diodotus*, "the god-given", and became the head of one of the several branches of the descendants of Viśvámitra. Śunahśepha was a grown-up man at the time, and was perfectly familiar with the Śástras, for he is described to have, immediately after, officiated at the ceremony, and to have introduced some innovations in the ritual; if the whole rite were purely symbolical, he had no business to be offended with his father, a learned Bráhmaṇa of high caste, and become the adopted son of a Kshatriya.

The writer of this note claims to be a descendant of this Devarát, and, in common with a large number of men in different parts of India, at every solemn ceremony, is required by the Śástras and the custom of his ancestors to describe himself as belonging to the tribe (*gotra*) of Viśvámitra, and of the family (*pravara*) of Devarát; he is not prepared, therefore, to say that Śunahśepha is purely a mythical personage; and seeing that, until the beginning of this century, the practice of offering the first-born to the river Ganges was common, and the story simply says that Śunahśepha was offered to the water-god Varuṇa as a substitute for the first-born Rohita,

he can perceive nothing in it inconsistent or unworthy of belief. The rescue, of course, is due to the intervention of Viśvámitra, as supposed by Wilson, and not to the efficacy of the hymns, but that was not intended to form the most salient point of the story.

Exception has been taken to the theory of the sacrifice having been originally intended to be real on the ground of a story in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa which narrates that "the gods once killed a man for their sacrifice, but that part in him which was fit for being made an offering, went out and entered a horse"; then the horse being killed, it went to an ox; and the ox being killed, it went to a sheep; and the sheep being killed, it went to a goat; and the goat being killed, it went to the earth; and the gods, guarding the earth, seized the rice, the produce thereof, which, made into cakes, formed the best offering, and all the animals from which the sacrificial part had gone, became unfit for being sacrificed, and no one should eat them.* This story,

* I quote the entire passage from Haug's translation to enable the reader to judge for himself:

"The gods killed a man for their sacrifice. But that part in him which was fit for being made an offering, went out and entered a horse. Thence the horse became an animal fit for being sacrificed. The gods then dismissed that man after that part which was only fit for being offered had gone from him, whereupon he became deformed.

"The gods killed the horse; but the part fit for being sacrificed (the *medha*) went out of it, and entered an ox; thence the ox became an animal fit for being sacrificed. The gods then dismissed (this horse) after the sacrificial part had gone from it, whereupon it turned to a white deer.

"The gods killed the ox; but the part fit for being sacrificed went out of the ox, and entered a sheep; thence the sheep became fit for being sacrificed. The gods then dismissed the ox, which turned to a gayal (*Bos gaevus*).

"The gods killed the sheep; but the part fit for being sacrificed went out of the sheep, and entered a goat; thence the goat became fit for being sacrificed. The gods dismissed the sheep, which turned to a camel.

"The sacrificial part (the *medha*) remained for the longest time (longer than in the other animals) in the goat; thence is the goat among all these animals pre-eminently fit for being sacrificed.

"The gods killed the goat; but the part fit for being sacrificed went out of it, and entered the earth. Thence the earth is fit for being offered. The gods then dismissed the goat, which turned to a Sarabha.

"All those animals from which the sacrificial part had gone, are unfit for being sacrificed; thence one should not eat (their flesh).

"After the sacrificial part had entered the earth, the gods surrounded it (so that no escape was possible); it then turned to rice. When they (therefore) divide the Purodāsa into parts, after they have killed the animal, then they do it, wishing "might not animal sacrifice be performed with the sacrificial part (which is contained in the rice of the Purodāsa)! might our sacrificial part be provided with the whole sacrificial essence!" The sacrificial animal of him who has such a knowledge becomes then provided with the sacrificial part, with the whole sacrificial essence. The Purodāsa (offered at the animal sacrifice) is the animal which is killed. The chaff and straw of the rice of which it con-

however, proves too much. If it is to be accepted as an evidence against the existence of human sacrifice in the time of the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa, it must be allowed to tell equally against all animal sacrifices; but curiously enough, immediately after the story, the Bráhmaṇa supplies the necessary mantras for offering the omentum (*Vapá*) of a slaughtered animal; and, in five hundred different places, it furnishes directions for selecting, offering, slaughtering, and dividing among the officiating priests, goats, sheep, oxen, and other animals. In short, all the principal rites of the Bráhmaṇa period required animal sacrifices, and it would be absurd to believe on the strength of the story in question that in the time of the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa there was no horse sacrifice, no cow sacrifice, no goat sacrifice, and everywhere rice cakes were substituted for sanguinary offerings. It would be equally absurd for the Puráṇas to prohibit the Purusha-medha and the horse sacrifice in the Kálíyuga, if they had been already prohibited in the Vedas. The fact, however, is, the story is simply eulogistic (*arthaváda*) and not at all intended to be prohibitive. In the Bráhmaṇas every rite, when being enjoined, is the best of rites, as in the Puráṇas every sacred pool is the holiest of the holy, and every god the greatest among gods; and as the object of the story was to praise the rice cake, it at once made it supersede all other kinds of offering. The Mímáṃsakas invariably adopt this style of explanation to reconcile all contradictory passages in the Vedas, and it is, I think, the only reasonable one that can be adopted in such cases. Jaimini distinctly lays down that “nothing is binding in the Vedas, which is not positively enjoined as a duty” (*Chodandákshano'rtho dharmah*), and devotes a whole chapter (Book I, Chap. 2,) to what are mere *arthaváda* or eulogistic, including all Vedic legends under that head.

Colebrooke's opinion on the subject was founded upon a passage in the Satapatha Bráhmaṇa of the White Yajur Veda, in which the human victims at a Purushamedha are recommended to be let off after certain mantras had been repeated over them; but that passage cannot be accepted as a proof in the case under notice. The word *Purusha-medha*, it is true, literally means “a human sacrifice”; but it is not a common term descriptive of every rite in which a human victim is offered to the gods, for there were

sists are the hairs of the animal, its husks the skin, its smallest particles the blood, all the fine particles to which the (cleaned) rice is ground (for making, by kneading it with water, a ball) represent the flesh (of the animal), and whatever other substantial part is in the rice, are the bones (of the animal). He who offers the Purodása, offers the sacrificial substance of all animals (for the latter is contained in the rice of the Purodása). Thence they say: the performance of the Purodása offering is to be attended to.

“Now he recites the Yájyá for the Vapá (which is about to be offered) Yuvam etáni divi, *i. e.*, Ye, O Agni and Soma, have placed, by your joint labours, those lights on the sky! Ye Agni and Soma, have liberated the rivers which had been taken (by demons), from imprecation and defilement.” *Haug's Translation*, pp. 90 ff.

several such; but a technical one, implying a specific ceremony to be performed in the spring season, according to certain fixed and well defined rules, which, according to the Puráṇas was altogether prohibited in the present iron age, and has no relation whatever to the sacrifice of children in redemption of vows. Whether the latter was ever prohibited or not, I cannot state positively; but that the sacrifice of Śunahśepha to the water-god Varuṇa was the type on which the offering of infants to the water-goddess Gangá at the confluence of the river of that name with the sea, the emblem of the water-god Varuṇa, I have no reason to doubt; and the latter was duly and pretty extensively observed for centuries, until finally put down by the British Government at the beginning of this century. It should be added here that the offering did not invariably or even generally lead to a murder, for a priest or bystander generally took up the child from the water, and brought him up as a foster son, very much in the same way as Viśvámitra did in the case of Śunahśepha.

The *Purusha-medha* was celebrated for the attainment of supremacy over all created beings. Its performance was limited to Bráhmaṇas and Kshatriyas. It could be commenced only on the tenth of the waxing moon in the month of Chaitra, and altogether it required forty days for its performance, though only five out of the forty days were specially called the days of the Purusha-medha, whence it got the name of *Pancháha*. Eleven sacrificial posts were required for it, and to each of them was tied an animal fit for Agni and Soma, (a barren cow) the human victims being placed between the posts.

The earliest indication of this rite occurs in the Vájasaneyí Saṁhitá of the White Yajur Veda. The passage in it bearing on the subject is supposed to describe the different kinds of human victims appropriate for particular gods and goddesses. The section, in which it occurs, opens with three verses which, the commentator says, were intended to serve as mantras for offerings of human victims. Then follows a series of one hundred and seventy-nine names of gods in the dative case, each followed by the name of one or more persons in the objective case; thus "to Brahma a Bráhmaṇa, to Kshatra a Kshatriya," &c. The copula is nowhere given, and it is quite optional with the reader to supply whatever verb he chooses. The whole of these names has been reproduced in the Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Veda, with only a few slight variations, and in some cases having the verb *álabhate* after them. This verb is formed of the root *labh* "to kill" with the prefix *á*, and commentators have generally accepted the term to mean slaughter, though in some cases it means consecration before slaughter. The century of Bráhmaṇas of the White Yajur Veda also accepts the passage to be descriptive of human victims, and under the circumstance we may unhesitatingly take it in that sense, though the arguments by which the hymns

of the Rig Veda have been attempted to be divorced from their commentary in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa may be fairly brought to bear upon it.

As the passage in the Taittiriya is a curious one, though long, I shall quote it entire, pointing out within brackets in the foot notes the differences observable in the Vájasaneyí Sañhitá. It runs thus :

1. "To a (divinity of the) Bráhmaṇ (caste), a Bráhmaṇa should be sacrificed (*álabhate*) ; 2. To a (divinity of the) Kshatriya (caste), a Kshatriya ; 3. To the Maruts, a Vaisya ; 4. To Tapas (the divinity presiding over penances), a Súdra ; 5. To Tamas (the presiding divinity of darkness) a thief ; 6. To Naraka (the divinity of hells), a Víraṇa (one who blows out sacrificial fires) ; 7. To Pápaman (the divinity of sins), a hermaphrodite (or a eunuch) ; 8. To Akraya (the divinity of commerce), an Ayogu (one who acts against the ordinances of the S'ástra) ; 9. To Káma (the divinity of love), a courtesan ; 10. To Atikrushta (a detested divinity), a Mágadha (the son of a Vaisya by a Kshatriya woman)* ;

11. To Gíta (the divinity of music), a Súta or musician (the son of a Kshatriya by a Bráhmaṇa woman) ; 12. To Nritta (the divinity of dancing), one who lends his wife to another (a cuckold)† ; 13. To Dharma (the divinity of duty), one who frequents assemblies and preaches morality ; 14. To Narma (the divinity of humour), a wit ; 15. To Narishta (a dependent goddess), a coward ; 16. To Hasa (the divinity of laughter), a person of an ambling gait ; 17. To Ananda (the divinity of delight), a favourite of women ; 18. To Pramada (the divinity of joy), the son of an unmarried woman ; 19. To Medhá (the goddess of intelligence), a coach-builder ; 20. To Dhairya (the divinity of patience), a carpenter (carver) ;‡

21. To Srama (the divinity of labour), the son of a potter ; 22. To Máya (the divinity who delights in art), a blacksmith ; 23. To Rúpa (the divinity of beauty), a jeweller ; 24. To the divinity of prosperity, an agriculturist (sower of seeds, *vapa*) ; 25. To Saravyí (the divinity of arrows), an arrow-maker ; 26. To Hetí (the goddess of arms), a bow-maker ; 27. To Karma (the divinity of art-work), a bowstring-maker ; 28. To Dishta, a maker of

* ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणमालभते । क्षत्राय राजन्यं । मरुद्भ्यो वैश्वं । तपसे शुद्रं । तमसे तक्षरं । नारकाय वीरणं । पापने क्षीवं । आक्रयायायोगं । कामाय पुंसं । अतिक्रुष्टाय मागधं ॥ १ ॥

† The Vájasaneyí Sañhitá assigns the Súta to Nritta, and the cuckold to Gíta.

‡ गीताय सूतं नृताय शैलूषं । [नृताय सूतं गीताय शैलूषं] धर्माय सभाचरं । नर्माय रेभं । नरिष्ठाय भीमलं । हसाय कारिम् । आनन्दाय स्त्रीष्वं । प्रमदे कुमारीपुत्रं । मेधाय रथकारं । धैर्याय तक्षणं ॥ २ ॥

ropes ; 29, to Mṛityu, (the divinity of death) a hunter ; 30, to Antaka, (the divinity of murder) a person delighting in hunting with dogs ;*

31, To Sandha, (the divinity of assignation) a person given to adultery ; 32, to Geḥa, (the divinity of homesteads) one who lives in concubinage ; 33, to Nīriti, (the goddess of misfortune) one who has married before his elder brother ; 34, to Ārti, (the goddess of pain) one who wishes to marry before his elder brother ; 35, to Arādhī, (the divinity who causes obstruction to enterprise) one who has married a widow ; 36, to Pavitra, (the divinity of purity) a physician ; 37, to Prajñāna, (the divinity of time) an astronomer ; 38, to Niskṛiti, (the goddess of success) the wife of a goldsmith ; 39, to Bala, (the divinity of strength) a girl who is forcibly taken and kept as a concubine for food and raiment, but no pay ; 40, to Varṇa, (the divinity of colours) one who works for the sake of another, not for himself ;†

41, To the gods of rivers, a fisherman, (Paunjisṭha) ; 42, to the regents of lonely places, a Naishāda ; 43, to the god who claims to be the noblest of males, an excessively vain man ; 44, to the gods of heroes, an insane man ; 45, to the Gandharvas and their wives, one who has not been duly purified by the initiatory rites (a Vratya) ; 46, to the regents of snakes, and snake-charmers, one unfit for the initiatory rites ; 47, to the guardian gods, a gambler ; 48, to Iryatā, (the goddess of food) one who abstains from gambling ; 49, to the Piśāchas, a basket-maker ; 50, to the Yātudhānas, (a race of demons) a gardener, or one who puts up a thorny hedge ;‡

51, To those gods who frustrate undertakings, a hunchback ; 52, to Pramada, (the divinity of excessive joy) a dwarf ; 53, to those goddesses who are the guardians of gates, a diseased person ; 54, to the presiding divinity of dreams, a blind man ; 55, to the divinity of sin, a deaf man ; 56, to the divinity of sense, one who wins her husband's affection through charms or filters ; 57, to the divinity of profuse talk, a bore ; 58, to the goddess who is little conversant with the Vedas, a sceptic ; 59, to her who is conversant with them, one who is proficient in questioning ; 60, to her

* अमाय कौलालं । [तपसे कौलालं] । मायायै कान्धारं । रूपाय सगिकारं । शुभे वपं । शरव्याया दण्डकारं । हत्यै धन्वकारं [धनुष्कारं] । कर्मणे व्याकारं । दिष्टाय रज्जुसर्गं । मृत्यवे मृग्यं । अन्नकाय अनितं ॥ २ ॥

† सन्धेयै जारं । गृह्योपापतिं । निर्वृत्यै परिवित्तं । [निर्वृत्यै परिविविदानं] । आर्तैः परिविविदानं । [आर्तैः परिवित्तं] । आराध्यै दिदिषूपतिं । पवित्राय भिषज्ज । प्रज्ञानाय नक्षत्रदर्श । निष्कृत्यै पेशस्कारि । बलायोपदां । वणायानुसंधं ॥ ४ ॥

‡ नदीभ्यः पौञ्जिष्टं । ऋचीकाभ्यो नैषादं । पुरुषस्यात्राय दुर्मदं । प्रयुङ्भ्यः उन्नतं । गन्धर्वापुरोभ्यः ब्राह्मं । सर्पदेवजनैभ्यः अप्रतिपदं । अवैभ्यः [अघेभ्यः] कितवं । इर्याताया अकितवं । पिशाचभ्यो विदलकारं [विदलकारं] । शत्रुधानैभ्यः कण्टककारं [कण्टकीकारं] ॥ ५ ॥

who presides over the purport of the Śástras, one who is able to meet arguments ; *

61, To the divinity of thieves, one proficient in thieving ; 62, to one who prides in killing heroes, a tattler ; 63, to one who presides on gains, a charioteer ; 64, to the divinity who protects royal treasuries, a treasurer or revenue-collector ; 65, to the mighty, a servant ; 66, to the majestic, an officer, or an assistant ; 67, to the dear one, a sweet speaker ; 68, to the uninjurious, a cavalier ; 69, to the intelligent, or him who is proficient in a knowledge of religious rites, a washer-woman ; 70, to the most loving, a female dyer ; †

71, To the refulgent, a collector of fuel ; 72, to the highly refulgent, a fire-man, or lighter of fires ; 73, to him who dwells on the top of heaven, one who officiates at a coronation ; 74, to the regent of the region of the sun, a polisher of metal pots ; 75, to him who prides himself on being of the region of the Devas, one who causes enmity ; 76, to him who resides in the region of the mortals, one who foment quarrels among those who are in peace ; 77, to those who belong to all regions, a peacemaker ; 78, to him who presides over deaths by penance, one who meddles in quarrels ; 79, to him who prides himself on being of heaven (*svarga*), one who collects the dues of a king from his subjects ; 80, to the most aged of heaven, a table-servant ; ‡

• 81, To the wavy-mover, an elephant-keeper, or máhut ; 82, to the swift, a groom ; 83, to the robust, a cowherd ; 84, to the vigorous, a goat-herd ; 85, to the energetic, a shepherd ; 86, to the divinity of food, a ploughman ; 87, to that of water, a distiller, or vintner ; 88, to that of welfare, a householder ; 89, to that of prosperity, an owner of wealth ; 90, to him who is the immediate cause of all things, the servant of a charioteer, or an assistant charioteer ; §

* उक्तादेभ्यः कुञ्जं । प्रमुदे वामनं । द्वाभ्यः सामं । सन्नायान् । अधर्माय बधिरं । सञ्ज्ञानाय स्मरकारि । प्रकामोद्यायोपसदं । आशिन्नायै प्रश्ननं । उपशिन्नाया अभिप्रश्ननं । मर्यादायै प्रश्नविकारं ॥ ६ ॥

† ऋतुस्येन हृदयं । वैरहत्याय पिशुनं । विविक्तैश्च चत्वारं । औपद्रष्टाय सङ्गृहीतारं । [अनुचत्वारं] । बलायानुचरं । भूम्ने परिस्कन्दं । प्रियाय प्रियवादिनं । अरिष्टा अश्वसादं । मेधाय वासः पञ्चूर्ली । प्रकामाय रजयित्री ॥ ७ ॥

‡ भायै दार्वाहारं । प्रभाया आग्नेन् । नाक्तस्य पृष्ठायाभिषेक्तारं । ब्रह्मस्य विष्टपाय पात्रनिर्गमं । देवलोकाय पेशितारं । मनुष्यलोकाय प्रकरितारं । सर्वेभ्यो लोकेभ्य उपसेक्तारं । अथर्वै बधायोपमन्यितारं । सुवर्गाय लोकाय भागदुर्ध । वर्षिष्ठाय नाकाय परिवेष्टारं ॥ ८ ॥

§ अग्नेभ्यो हस्तिपं । जवायाश्चपं । पुष्ट्यै गोपालं । तेजसेऽजपालं । वीर्यायाविपालं । इरायै कीनाशं । कीलायाय सुराकारं । भद्राय गृहपं । श्रेयसे वित्तपं । अथ्यक्षायानुचत्वारं ॥ ९ ॥

91, To the mentally wrathful, a blacksmith, or one who works at a forge ; 92, to the manifestly angry, one who leads a convict to execution ; 93, to him who presides over griefs, a groom who runs before a chariot ; 94, to the two who preside over gains above and below one's expectation (*Utkula* and *Vikula*), a cripple who cannot move even with the help of a crutch ; 95, to him who presides over expected profits, one who harnesses a horse to a chariot ; 96, to him who protects gains, one who unharnesses a horse ; 97, to the portly-bodied, the son of one who is addicted to her toilet ; 98, to him who presides over politeness, one who puts collyrium on his eyes ; 99, to the divinity of sin, a maker of leather sheaths for swords ; 100, to Yama, (the destroyer of life) a barren woman ;*

101, To Yamí, a mother of twins ; 102, to the goddesses who preside over the mantras of the Atharva Veda, a woman who had aborted ; 103, to the divinity of the first year of Jupiter's cycle, a woman who is confined long after due time ; 104, to that of the second year of ditto, one who has not conceived for the second time ; 105, to that of the third year of ditto, one who is able to bring on delivery before due time ; 106, to that of the fourth year of ditto, one who can delay delivery ; 107, to that of the fifth year of ditto, one who becomes lean without delivery, 108, to one who produces a misleading impression of the world, a woman who appears old in her youth ; 109, to the divinity of forests, a forest-ranger or keeper ; 110, to the divinity of a side forest, one who protects forests from fires ;†

111, To the divinities of lakes, a fisherman who catches fish both in water and also from the bank ; 112, to those of ponds one who catches fish with hooks ; 113, to those of bays, (or streamless waters near woods,) one who earns his livelihood with a net ; 114, to those female divinities who preside over waters amidst prairies, one who earns his livelihood with fishing-hooks ; 115, to the divinity of the further bank, a Kaivarta, (or one who hunts fish from the banks) ; 116, to that of the near bank, a Márgára, (or one who catches fish with his hands only) ; 117, to the divinities of fords, one who catches fish by putting up stakes in water ; 118, to those who preside over other than fords, one who earns his livelihood by catching fish with nets ; 119, to those who preside over sounding waters, one who catches fish by poisoning them

* भन्ववस्यसापं । क्रोधाय निसरं । शोकायाभिसरं । उत्कूलविकूलाभ्यां [उत्कूल-
विकूलेभ्यः] निस्थिनं । योगाय योक्तारं । क्षेमाय विमोक्तारं । वपुषे मानस्कृतं । शीला-
याञ्जनीकारं । निर्द्वैत्यै कोशकारिं । यमायास्त्रम् ॥ १० ॥

† यम्यै यमस्त्रं । अथर्वभ्योऽवतोकां । संवत्सराय पर्यारिणीं । परिवत्सरायाविजा-
तां । इदावत्सरायापक्षद्वरीं । इद्वत्सराया तीलरीं । [इदावत्सरायातीलरीं । इद्वत्सरा-
यातिस्कद्वरीं] । वत्सराय विजर्जरां । संवत्सराय पलिङ्गीं । वनाय वनपं । अन्यतोऽरण्याय
दावपं ॥ ११ ॥

with poisoned leaves placed on the water; 120, to those of caverns in mountains, a Kirāta (or hunter); 121, to those of peaks of mountains, a Yambhaka; 122, to those of mountains, a Kimpurusha;*

123, To the divinity of echoes, a news-dealer; 124, to that of sounds, an incoherent speaker; 125, to that of fading sounds, one who speaks much; 126, to that of unending sound, a dumb person; 127, to that of loud sound, a player on the Vīṇā; 128, to that of musical sounds, a player on the flute; 129, to that of all kinds of sounds, a trumpeter; 130, to that of sounds other than sweet, a blower of conch-shells; 131, to those who preside over the seasons, one whose profession is to collect fragments of skins; 132, to those of statesmanship, (or of time, place and opportunities, for peace negotiations,) a preparer of musical instruments with leather;†

133, To the goddess presiding over abhorrence, a (man of the) Paulkasa (caste); 134, to the goddess of affluence, one who is always careful or wakeful; 135, to that of indigence, a careless or sleepy person; 136, to that of scales (or weighing instruments,) a purchaser; 137, to the god presiding over the radiance of jewels, a goldsmith; 138, to the Viśvedevas, a leper; 139, to the divinity of diseases other than leprosy, a naturally lean person; 140, to the goddess of motion, a scandal-monger; 141, to that of prosperity, one who is not impudent; 142, to the god of decay, one who splits wood; (P)‡

143, To the divinity of mirth, a loose woman should be sacrificed; 144, to that of song, a player on the Vīṇā and a songster; 145, to that of aquatic animals, a Sābulyā (one whose body is brindled, or has two colours, a piebald woman); 146, to that of congratulatory words, a woman of perfect form; 147, to that of dancing, one who plays on flutes, one who leads the octave in a chorus, and one who beats time with his hands; 148, to that of manifest delight, one who invites people to a dance, or one who makes a sound to indicate the cessation of a dance; 149, to that of internal de-

* सरोभ्यो घैवरं । वेशन्ताभ्यो दाशं । उपस्त्रावरीभ्यो वैन्दं । [वैशन्ताभ्यो वैन्दं । उपस्त्रावराभ्यो दाशं ।] नड्वलाभ्यः शौष्कलं । पार्याय कैवर्त्तं । अवार्याय मार्गारं । [पाराय मार्गारं । आवाराय कैवर्त्तं] । तीर्थेभ्य आन्दं । विषसेभ्यो मेनालं । खनेभ्यः पर्णकं । गुह्याभ्यः किरातं । सानुभ्यो जम्बकं । पर्वतेभ्यः किम्पूरुषं ॥ १२ ॥

† प्रतिश्रुत्वाया ऋतुलं । घोषाय भषं । अन्नाय वज्रवादिनं । अनन्नाय मूकं । मर्हसे वीणावादं । क्राशाय तूणवध्नं । आक्रन्दाय दुन्दुभ्याघातं । अवरस्त्राय शङ्खध्नं । ऋभ्योऽजिनसन्धायं । साध्येभ्यश्चर्मम्याम् ॥ १३ ॥

‡ वीभत्सायै पौल्कसम् । भूत्यै जागरणम् । अभूत्यै खपनम् । तुलायै वाणिजम् । वर्षाय हिरण्यकारम् । विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्यः सिध्नलम् । पश्चादोषाय स्त्रीवम् [स्त्राविनं] । ऋत्यै जनवादिनम् । व्यूढाय अपगन्धम् । स५श्राय प्रच्छिदम् ॥ १४ ॥

light, one who plays on the *taláva* (a musical instrument, probably the archetype of the modern *tablá*), or one who produces music from his mouth;*

150, To the divinity of gambling with the dice, a proficient gambler; 151, to that of the Kríta age, a keeper of a gambling hall; 152, to that of the Tretá age, a marker or reckoner at a gambling table; 153, to that of the Dvápára age, one who is a spectator at a gambling; 154, to that of the Kali age, one who does not leave a gambling hall even after the play has stopped; 155, to that of difficult enterprises, a teacher of gymnastics on the top of a bamboo; 156, to that of roads, a Brahmachári; 157, to the Pisáchas, one who commits robberies on public highways and then hides himself in a mountain; 158, to the goddess of thirst, one who skins cattle; 159, to that of sin, a cattle-poisoner; 160, to that of hunger, a cow-butcher; 161, to the goddesses of hunger and thirst, one who lives by begging beef from a butcher;†

162, To the divinity of land, a cripple who moves about on a crutch; 163, to that of fire, a Chaṇḍála; 164, to that of the sky, one whose profession is to dance on the top of a bamboo; 165, to that of the celestial region, a bald person; 166, to the presiding divinity of the sun, a green-eyed person; 167, to the presiding divinity of the moon, one who twinkles his eyes too frequently; 168, to the presiding divinity of the stars, one affected with white leprous blotches; 169, to that of day, an albino with tawny eyes; 170, to that of night, a black person with tawny eyes;‡

171, To the goddess of speech, a fat person; 172, to Váyu, the five vital airs: prána, apána, vyána, udána and samána, of that person; 173, to Súrya should be immolated his eyes; 174, to Chandramá his mind; 175, to the regents of the quarters, his ears; 176, his life, to Prajápati.§

* हसाय पु० खलूमालभते । वीणावाद् गणकं गीताय । यादसे शबुल्यां । नर्माय भद्रवतीम् । तूणवधं ग्रामणं पाणिसङ्घातं नृताय । मोदायानुक्रोशकम् । आनन्दाय तलवं ॥ १५ ॥

† अचराजाय कितवम् । कृताय सभाविनम् । [कृतायादिनवदर्शं] । चेताय आदिनवदर्शं [कल्पिनं] । द्वापराय वह्निःसदं । [अधिकल्पिनं] । कलये सभास्याणुम् । दुष्कृताय चरकाचार्यम् । अध्वने ब्रह्मचारिणं । पिशाचेभ्यः शैलगं । पिपासायै गोव्यञ्जं । निर्वर्त्यै गोघातं । क्षुधे गोविकर्त्तारम् । [योगां] । क्षुत्तृष्याभ्यां तम् । यो गां विकृतं तं मा० सं शिचमाण उपतिष्ठते ॥ १६ ॥

‡ भूम्यै पीठसर्पिणमालभते । अग्नये अ० सलम् । वायवे चाण्डालम् । अन्तरिक्षाय व० शनत्तिनम् । दिवे खलतिम् । सूर्याय ह० चम् । चन्द्रमसे मिर्मिरं । नक्षत्रेभ्यः किलासम् । अक्रै शुक्लं पिङ्गलम् । रात्रियै कृष्णं पिङ्गलम् ॥ १७ ॥

§ वाचे पु० मालभते । प्राणमपानं व्यानमुदान० समानं तान् वायवे । सूर्याय चक्षुरालभते । मनश्चन्द्रमसे । दिग्भ्यः शैवं । प्रजापतये पुरुषम् ॥ १८ ॥

177, Now to ugly divinities should be immolated very short, very tall, very lean, very fat, very white, very dark, very smooth, very hairy, few-toothed, numerously-toothed, frequently-twinkling-eyed, and very glaring-eyed, persons; 178, to the goddess for unattainable objects of hope, a woman who has passed the age for conception; 179, (and) to the goddess of hope for attainable objects, a virgin.”*

In explanation of the purport of this long passage in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, Āpastamba says: “The Purushamedha is pentadiurnal; a Brāhmaṇa or a Rājanya (Kshatriya) should celebrate it. He thereby acquires strength and vigour; he enjoys all fruition. (The number of) days should be as in the Panchasārādiya rite, and as a sequel to the Agnishtoma rite, eleven animals, meet for the Agnisomiya, should be tethered to eleven sacrificial posts, and, three oblations to Sāvitrī having been offered with the mantra *Deva savitastat savitur visvāni deva savita* &c., on the middle day they should be sacrificed (or consecrated *upākṛita*). Having sacrificed twice eleven men, reciting the mantra *Brahmaṇe Brāhmaṇān dābheta*, (the priest) places the sacrificed (or consecrated, *upākṛita*) victims between the sacrificial posts. The Brahmā (priest), then placing himself on the south side, recites the hymn to the great male Narāyaṇa beginning with the verse *sahasra śīrṣa puruṣa*, &c., and, then turning a burning brand round the victims, consigns them to the north; (the other priests), then offering an oblation with clarified butter to the presiding divinity, place them (there).”†

Sāyaṇa Achārya, after quoting this opinion of Āpastamba, and explaining the different terms used in the Brāhmaṇa to indicate the different gods and goddesses and the persons deemed meet for them, adds, “the human-formed animals beginning with Brāhmaṇa and ending with Virgin, are immolated (*dābhavyāḥ*) along with the sacrificial animals on the middle day of the five days of this Purushamedha, which is a kind of Somayāga.”‡

* अथैतान् रूपेभ्यः आलभते । अतिह्रस्वमतिदीर्घं । अतिकृशमत्यङ्गसलम् । अतिशुक्लमतिकृष्णम् । अतिश्चक्षुषमतिशोभम् । अतिकिरिटमतिदन्तुरम् । अतिभिर्भिरमति-
मेमिषम् । आशायै जासिम । प्रतीक्षायै कुमाराम् ॥ १९ ॥

† तत्रापस्तम्ब आह । पञ्चाहः पुरुषमेधो ब्राह्मणो राजन्यो वा यजेत । ओजो वीर्य-
माप्नोति, सर्व्वयुष्टीर्यञ्जुतः । एकादशसु यूपेभ्येकादशग्राभीषामीयाः । पञ्चशरदीयवदह्वा-
न्यग्निष्टोमो वोपोतमो देवसवितस्तत् सवितुर्विश्वा नि देवसवितरिति तिस्रः सवित्रीर्जला
मध्यमेऽहनि पशून्नुपाकरोति । द्वयानैकादशिनानुपाकृत्य पुरुषान् ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणमालभेत
इत्येतद् यथासमाज्जातं तान्यूपान्तराले धारयन्त्युपाकृतान् । दक्षिणतोऽवस्थाय ब्रह्मा
सहस्रशीर्षाः पुरुष इति पुरुषेण नारायणेन पराचानुशंसति । पर्यग्निहृतानुदीचीनान्
प्रारब्धजत्याञ्चेन तदेवता आहुतीर्जला द्वयैरेकादशीनान् संस्थापयन्तीति ।

‡ ब्राह्मणादयः कुमार्यन्ताः प्रोक्ता मनुष्यविशेषरूपाः पशवोऽस्मिन् पुरुषमेधे पञ्चाह
सोमयागविशेषे मध्यमेऽहनि सवनीयपशुभिः समचित्यालब्धव्याः ।

Neither Apastambha nor Sáyana has a word to say about the human victims being symbolical. The word used by Apastamba is *Upákṛita*, which may mean consecration before a sacrifice or slaughter; and according to Jaimini, the highest authority on sacrifices, and his commentator Savara Svámí, the sacrificial operations “of consecration, of bringing the animal to the place of sacrifice, fettering it, tying it to the post, slaughtering, and cutting the carcass open for the distribution of the flesh among the priests, are all implied when sacrifice is meant,” and the latter adds that “all the different acts should be understood when sacrifices are ordained, except when special instructions are given.”* Now no special exception has been made in the text about the human victims, and consequently the only conclusion to be arrived at is—that, the Taittiríyas did not look upon the rite as symbolical, though in the case of sacrifices under Nos. 172 to 176, the actual slaughtering of the airs, &c., would be rather awkward. It must be added, however, that Apastamba is very brief and obscure in his remarks, and it would be hazardous to draw a positive conclusion from the insufficient data supplied by him, particularly as the Śatapatha Bráhmaṇa is positive on the subject of the human victims being let off after consecration; though the fact of that Bráhmaṇa being much later than the Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa, may justify the assumption that the practice of the Kánva school can be no guide to the followers of the Taittiríyaka.

The Śatapatha refers to the Purushamedha in several places; and the following is the full description of the rite given in it:

1. “Verily the great male, Náráyana, willed: ‘I shall abide over all living beings; verily I shall become all this (creation).’ He perceived this penta-diurnal sacrificial rite Purushamedha. He collected it. With it he performed a sacrifice. Performing a sacrifice with it, he abided over all living beings, and became all this (creation). He abides over all living beings and becomes all this, who performs a Purushamedha, as also he who knows all this.†

2. “Of that rite there are twenty-three initiations (*dīkshá*), twelve benefactions (*upasada*), and five lustrations (*sutyá*), making altogether forty

* उपाकरणम् उपानयनम् अक्षयाबन्धो, यूषे नियोजनम् सञ्चपनम् विशसनम् इत्येवमादयः । + + + + सवनीयस्य एते धर्माः भवेयुः । तुल्यः सर्वेषां पशुविधिः स्यात् । यदि प्रकरणे विशेषो न भवेत् । *Mimánsá Darsana* p. 373.

† पुरुषो ह नारायणोऽकामयत । अतिष्ठेयं सर्वाणि भूतान्यहमेवेदं सर्वं स्यामिति । स एतं पुरुषमेधं पञ्चरात्रं यज्ञक्रतुमपश्यत्तमाहरत्तेनायजत तेनेद्वात्यतिष्ठत् सर्वाणि भूतानीदं सर्वमभवदतिष्ठति सर्वाणि भूतानीदं सर्वं भवति य एवं विद्वान् पुरुषमेधेन यजते सो वैतदेवं वेद ॥ १ ॥

members (*gātra*). The forty comprising the initiations, benefactions, &c., constitute the forty-syllabled *virāt*, (a form of metre) which assumes the form of Virāt (the first male produced by Prajāpati, and the father of mankind). Thus it is said ; ‘Virāt, the first or superior male, was produced.’* This is the same Virāt. From this Virāt is produced the male for sacrifice.†

3. “Thereof these. There are four Daśats, and since there are four Daśats, they are the means for the attainment of the (different) regions and quarters (of the universe). This region (the earth) is the first to be attained by a Daśat ; the upper region the second ; the sky the third ; the quarters the fourth. Thus verily the institutor of the sacrifice attains this region through the first Daśat, the region of ether through the second, the celestial region through the third, and the quarters through the fourth. Thus the Purushamedha is the means of attaining and subjugating all this—all these regions and all the quarters.‡

4. “For the initiation of this ceremony eleven animals meet for Agni and Soma, (should be procured). For them there should be eleven sacrificial posts (*Yūpa*). Eleven syllables are comprised in the Trishṭup metre ; the Trishṭup is the thunderbolt,—it is vigour. With the thunderbolt and vigour of the Trishṭup the institutor of the sacrifice destroys all the sin before him.§

5. “In the rite of lustration there should be eleven victims. Eleven syllables are comprised in the Trishṭup metre ; the Trishṭup is the thunderbolt,—it is vigour. With the thunderbolt and vigour of the Trishṭup the institutor of the sacrifice (Yajamāna) destroys the sin before him.||

6. “Because the victims (in this sacrifice) are eleven-fold, therefore verily is all this (creation) elevenfold. Prajāpati is eleven-fold ; all this is

* A quotation from the Purushasūkta as given in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā.

† तस्य त्रयोविंशतिर्दीक्षाः द्वादशोपसदः पञ्च सुत्याः स एष चत्वारिंशद्गात्रः सदी-
क्षापसत्कश्चत्वारिंशदक्षरा विराट् तद्विराजमभिसम्पद्यते ततो विराडजायत विराजोऽ-
स्यधि पुरुष इत्येषा वै सा विराडेतस्या एवैतद्विराजो यज्ञं पुरुषं जनयति ॥ २ ॥

‡ ता वाऽस्ताः । चतस्रो दशतो भवन्ति तद्यदेतास्तस्यो दशतो भवन्त्येषां चैव
लोकानामाग्नौ दिशां चेतमेव लोकं प्रथमया दशताम्रवन्नरिचं द्वितीयया दिवं तृतीयया
दिशश्चतुर्थ्या तथैवैतद् यजमान इतमेव लोकं प्रथमया दशताम्रात्यन्नरिचं द्वितीयया दिवं
तृतीयया दिशश्चतुर्थ्यातावद्वाऽ इदं सर्वं यावदिमे च लोका दिशश्च सर्वं पुरुषमेधः
सर्वस्याग्नौ सर्वस्यावद्धौ ॥ २ ॥

§ एकादशान्निषोमीयाः पशव उपवस्ये । तेषां समानं कर्म्मकादश यूपा एकादशा-
क्षरा त्रिष्टुब्बक्षिष्टुर्वीर्यं त्रिष्टुब्बजेनैवैतत् वीर्येण यजमानः पुरस्तात् पाप्मानमपहते ॥ ४ ॥

|| एकादशानाः सुत्यास्तु पशवो भवन्ति । एकादशाक्षरा त्रिष्टुब् वक्षिष्टुब् वीर्यं
त्रिष्टुब् वजेनैवैतद् वीर्येण यजमानः पुरस्तात् पाप्मानमपहते ॥ ५ ॥

verily Prajāpati; all this is the Purushamedha, which is the means for the attainment and subjugation of all this.*

7. "That Purushamedha is verily penta-diurnal, and the greatest rite of sacrifice. Fivefold is Yajña; fivefold are victims or sacrificial animals; five are the seasons included in the year. Whatever is fivefold in celestial or spiritual matter, the same may be obtained through this (rite).†

8. "Thereof the Agnishtōma is the first day; next the Ukthya; the next Atirātra; the next Ukthya; the next Agnishtōma: thus it is hedged on either side with the Ukthya and the Agnishtōma.‡

9. "Yavamadhya are these five nights, (that is like a barley corn stoutest in the middle and tapering on either side, meaning that the most important day is in the middle; or, as the commentator has it, the penance of gradually reducing the food and then again gradually increasing it, should be observed, so that on the third night there should be the smallest allowance of food). These regions are verily the Purushamedha; these regions have light on either side,—Agni on this (side), and the sun on the other (side). In the same way it (the Purushamedha) has, on either side, the food of light and the Ukthya. The soul is Atirātra; and since the Atirātra is hedged in on both sides with the two Ukthyas, therefore is the soul nourished by food. And since the thriving Atirātra, is placed in the middle day, therefore is it Yavamadhya. He who engages in this rite has none to envy him, or to grow inimical to him. He who knows this suffers not from envy or enmity.§

10. "Of that Purushamedha this region is the first day. Of this region the spring season (is the chief). That which is above this region, the etherial region, (*antariksha*), is the second day; of that the summer is the season. The etherial region is its third day. Of the etherial region the rainy and the autumn are the seasons. That which is above the etherial region, the sky, (*Diva*), is the fourth day; of it the dewy is the season. The heaven is its

* यदेवैकादशिना भवन्ति । एकादशिनी वाऽ इदं सर्वं प्रजापतिर्ह्येकादशिनी सर्वं हि प्रजापतिः सर्वं पुरुषमेधः सर्वस्याग्नौ सर्वस्यावरुद्धौ ॥ ६ ॥

† स वाऽ एष पुरुषमेधः पञ्चरात्रो यज्ञक्रतुर्भवति । पाङ्क्तो यज्ञः पाङ्क्तः पशुः पञ्चतैव संवत्सरो यत्किञ्च पञ्चविधमधिदेवतमध्यात्मं तदेनेन सर्वमाप्नोति ॥ ७ ॥

‡ तस्याग्निष्टोमः प्रथममहर्भवति । अथोक्थेऽथातिरात्रोऽथोक्थेऽथाग्निष्टोमः स वाऽ एष उभयतोऽप्यतिरुभयतउक्थः ॥ ८ ॥

§ यवमध्यः पञ्चरात्रो भवति । इमे वै लोकाः पुरुषमेध उभयतोऽप्यतिषो वाऽ इमं लोका अग्निनेत आदित्येनामुतस्तस्मादुभयतोऽप्यतिरग्नमुक्थ आत्मातिरात्रस्तद् यदेताऽ उक्थ्यावतिरात्रमभितो भवतस्तस्मादयमात्मान्नेन परिहृष्टोऽथ यदेष वर्षिष्टोऽतिरात्रोऽह्नां स मध्ये तस्मादयमधो युते ह वै द्विषन्तं भ्रातृमयमेवास्ति नास्य द्विषन् भ्रातृ इत्याहुर्न एव वेद ॥ ९ ॥

fifth day ; of that heaven the winter is the season. This much is the celestial account of the Purushamedha.*

11. "Now for its spiritual relations. Initiation (*Pratishṭhā*) is its first day. Initiation is the spring season. That which is above it and below the middle is the second day ; of that the summer is the season. The middle is the middle day. Of the middle day the rainy and the autumn are the seasons. That which is above the middle day and below the head or last day is the fourth day ; thereof the dewy is the reason. That which is the head is the fifth day ; the season of this head is the winter. Thus verily these regions, the year, and the soul constitute the Purushamedha. All these regions, the whole year, the whole soul, the whole Purushamedha are for the attainment and subjugation of every thing.†

(Section 2.) 1. Now, whence the name Purushamedha ? These regions verily are *Pur*, and He, the Purusha, who sanctifies this (*Pur*) sleeps (*sete*) in this abode (*Puri*) and hence is he named Purusha (*Puri* and *sete* = Purusha). To him belongs whatever food exists in these regions ; that food is (called) *medha* ; and since his food is *medha*, therefore is this Purushamedha. Now since in this (rite) purified males are sacrificed (*ālabhate*), therefore verily is this a Purushamedha.‡

2. These (males) verily are sacrificed (*ālabhate*) on the middle day. The etherial region is the middle day ; the etherial region is verily the abiding place of all living beings. These animals are verily food ; the middle day is the belly, and in that belly is that food deposited.§

* तस्यायमेव लोकः प्रथममहः । अयमस्य लोको वसन्त ऋतुर्यदूर्द्ध्वं मन्त्रास्त्रोकादवाचीनमन्त्रिचातद् द्वितीयमहसदस्य ग्रीष्म ऋतुरन्तरिचमेवास्य मध्यममहरन्तरिचमस्य वर्षाशरदाष्टतू यदूर्द्ध्वमन्त्रिचादवाचीनं दिवस्तच्चतुर्थमहसदस्य हेमन्त ऋतुर्यारेवास्य पञ्चममहस्यारस्य शिशिर ऋतुरित्यधिदेवतं ॥ १० ॥

† अथाध्यात्मं । प्रतिष्ठैवास्य प्रथममहः प्रतिष्ठोऽस्य वसन्त ऋतुर्यदूर्द्ध्वं प्रतिष्ठायामवाचीनं मध्यात्तद् द्वितीयमहसदस्य ग्रीष्म ऋतुर्मध्यमेवास्य मध्यममहर्मध्यमस्य वर्षाशरदाष्टतू यदूर्द्ध्वं मध्यादवाचीनं ग्रीष्मस्तच्चतुर्थमहसदस्य हेमन्त ऋतुः शिर एवास्य पञ्चममहः शिशिरोऽस्य शिशिर ऋतुरेवमिमे च लोकाः संवत्सरस्यात्मा च पुरुषमेधमभिसम्पद्यन्ते सर्वे वाऽइमे लोकाः सर्वे संवत्सरः सर्वमात्मा सर्वे पुरुषमेधः सर्वस्याग्निं सर्वस्यावरुद्धौ ॥ १ ॥
ब्राह्मणं ॥ [६. १.] ॥

‡ अथ यस्मात् पुरुषमेधो नाम । इमे वै लोकाः पूरयमेव पुरुषो योऽयं पवते सोऽस्यां पुरि श्रते तस्मात् पुरुषस्य यदेषु लोकेष्वन्नं तदस्यान्नं मेधस्यदस्यैतदन्नं मेधस्यस्मात् पुरुषमेधोऽथो यदस्मिन् मेध्यान् पुरुषानालभते तस्माद्देव पुरुषमेधः ॥ १ ॥

§ तान् वै मध्यमेऽह्नालभते । अन्तरिचं वै मध्यममहरन्तरिचमु वै सर्वेषां भूतानामायतनमयोऽन्नं वाऽ एते पञ्च उदरं मध्यममहरदरे तदन्नं दधाति ॥ २ ॥

3. They are sacrificed by ten and ten. Ten syllables are comprised in (each foot of) the Virát, (metre) ; the Virát is complete food, for the attainment of complete food.*

4. Eleven tens are sacrificed. Eleven syllables are comprised in the Trishṭup (metre) ; the Trishṭup is the thunderbolt,—it is vigour. With the thunderbolt and vigour of the Trishṭup, the institutor of the sacrifice destroys the sin within him (lit. in the middle).†

5. “Forty-eight (animals) are sacrificed at the middle post. Forty-eight syllables are comprised in the Jagati (metre) ; the animals belong to the Jagati (metre) ; by the Jagati are animals bestowed on the Yajamána.‡

6. “Eleven eleven at the other (posts). Eleven syllables are comprised in the Trishṭup ; the Trishṭup is the thunderbolt,—it is vigour. With the thunderbolt and vigour of the Trishṭup should the institutor of the sacrifice destroy the sin around him.§

7. “Eight best ones are sacrificed. Eight syllables are comprised in the Gáyatrí (metre). The Gáyatrí is Brahma. That Brahma consummates the well-being of all this. Therefore is Brahma said to be the best of all this.||

8. “They (the sacrificial animals) belong to Prajápati. Brahma is Prajápati ; Prajápati belongs to Brahma ; therefore do they (the animals) belong to Prajápati.¶

9. “He (Prajápati, i. e. Brahma, here meaning the priest so named) having sanctified the animals, offers, for the gratification of Sávitá, three oblations with the Sávitrí verses beginning with, *Deva savitus tatsavitur*, &c. He (Sávitá), gratified thereby, produces these men, therefore are these men sacrificed.**

* तान् वै दश दशालभते । दशाक्षरा विराड्विराडु कृत्स्नमन्नं कृत्स्नस्यैवान्नाद्यस्या-
वरुद्धे ॥ २ ॥

† एकादश दशत आलभते । एकादशाक्षरा त्रिष्टुब् वज्रलिष्टुब् वीर्यं त्रिष्टुब् वज्रे-
शैवेतद् वीर्येण यजमानो मध्यतः पाप्मानमपहते ॥ ४ ॥

‡ अष्टाचलारिंशत् मध्ये यूपः आलभते । अष्टाचलारिंशदक्षरा जगती जागताः
पशवो जगत्यैवास्मै पशूनवरुन्ते ॥ ५ ॥

§ एकादशैकादशतरेषु । एकादशाक्षरा त्रिष्टुब् वज्रलिष्टुब् वीर्यं त्रिष्टुब् वज्रेशैवेतद्
वीर्येण यजमानोऽभितः पाप्मानमपहते ॥ ६ ॥

|| अष्टाः उत्तमानालभते । अष्टाक्षरा गायत्री ब्रह्मगायत्री तद् ब्रह्मैवेतदस्य सर्वस्योत्तमं
करोति तस्माद् ब्रह्मास्य सर्वस्योत्तममित्याहुः ॥ ७ ॥

¶ ते वै प्राजापत्या भवन्ति । ब्रह्म वै प्रजापतिर्ब्राह्मो हि प्रजापतिसंस्तान् प्राजापत्या
भवन्ति ॥ ८ ॥

** स वै पशुनुपाकरिष्यन् । एतास्त्रिः सावित्रीराजृतीर्जुहोति देव सवितस्तस्यवितु-
र्वरेणं विश्वानि देव सवितरिति तवितारं प्रीणाति सोऽस्मै प्रीत एतान् पुरुषान् प्रचैति तेन
प्रसूतानालभते ॥ ९ ॥

10. "A Brāhmaṇa is sacrificed to Brahma.* Brahma is verily Brāhmaṇa; Brahma thrives through Brāhmaṇa. To the Kshatriya (divinity) a (person of the) Rājanya (caste), (should be sacrificed). The Kshatriya is verily Rājanya. The Kshatra thrives through a Kshatra. To the Maruts a Vaiśya (should be sacrificed). The Viśa is the Maruts. The Viśas thrive through the Viśas. To Tapas (the presiding divinity of penances), a Śūdra (should be sacrificed). Tapas is verily Śūdra. Tapas thrives through Tapases (works of penance). Even as these gods thrive through these animals (victims), so do they, thriving, cause the institutor of the sacrifice to thrive in all his wishes.†

11. "Offers oblation with butter. The butter is verily vigour. Through that vigour, vigour is given to this (institutor of the sacrifice). Offerings are given with butter, which is the gods' most favourite glory; and since butter promotes their favourite glory, they, thriving, cause the institutor of the sacrifice to thrive in all his wishes.‡

12. "The persons appointed. The Brahmā, from the south, praises the great male Nārāyaṇa, with the sixteen Rig verses beginning with *Sahasrasāśrsha* &c. (the Purushasukta), for verily the whole of the Purushamedha is sixteen membered for the attainment of everything, and for the subjugation of everything; and he is praised with the words, "thus thou art, thus thou art." In this way he is worshipped for certain. Now, as it is, this is said about it, the animals are consecrated by turning a flaming brand round them, but left unslaughtered," (*asañjñaptāh*)§ [Kātyāyana explains that the Brāhmaṇas &c., are let loose, like the *Kapīñjala* bird in the Aśvamedha sacrifice.—*Kapīñjalādi-vadutsrījanti Brāhmaṇādin*; and his commentator adds, "after a flaming brand has been turned round them :'" *paryagnikritanutsrījantītyarthah*.]

* A quotation from the Sañhitā.

† ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणमात्मभते । ब्रह्म वै ब्राह्मणे ब्रह्मैव तद्ब्रह्मणा समर्धयति च्वाय राजन्यं च्च वै राजन्यः च्चमेव तत् च्चणे समर्धयति मरुद्भ्या वैशं दिशे वै मरुतो विशमेव तद्विशा समर्धयति तपसे शुद्रं तपो वै शुद्रस्त्व एव तत्तपसा समर्धयत्येवमेता देवता ययारूपं पशुभिः समर्धयति ता एनं सृष्ट्वाः समर्धयन्ति सर्वैः कामैः ॥ १० ॥

‡ आच्येन जुहोति । तेजो वाऽ आच्यं तेजसैवास्मिन्तेजो दधात्याच्येन जुहोत्येतद्देवानां प्रियं धाम यदाच्यं प्रियैवैनां धाम्ना समर्धयति तऽ एनं सृष्ट्वाः समर्धयन्ति सर्वैः कामैः ॥ ११ ॥

§ नियुक्तान् पुरुषान् । ब्रह्मा दक्षिणतः पुरुषेण नारायणेनाभिष्टौति सृष्ट्वशीर्षा पुरुषः सृष्ट्वाचः सृष्ट्वापादित्येन षोडशर्चेन षोडशकलं वाऽ इदं सर्वं सर्वं पुरुषमेघः सर्वस्यात्रैः सर्वस्यावबृद्धाऽ इत्यमसीत्यमसीत्युपलौत्येनमेतन् सृष्ट्यत्येवाथो यथैष तथैनमेतदाह तत्पर्यग्निकृताः पशवा बभूवरसङ्गताः ॥ १२ ॥

13. "About this ; speech (*vák*) uttered this ; 'O male, grieve not if you remain here ; a male will eat a male.' Thus, those who had the flaming brand turned round them, were let loose, oblations of butter were offered to the several divinities ; and thereby were the divinities gratified ; and thus gratified they conferred all blessings on the worshipper."* [Three oblations are offered to each of the divinities, naming each, and followed by the word *sváhá*].

14. "He offers oblations with butter. Butter is vigour ; by that vigour verily vigour abides in this (worshipper, *Yajamána*).†

15. "(This rite) is established (for the worshipper, *Yajamána*) by the eleven (animals). Eleven-syllabled is the *Trishṭup*. The *Trishṭup* is the thunderbolt,—it is vigour. Through the thunderbolt and vigour of the *Trishṭup*, the *Yajamána* destroys the sin within him.‡

16. "Abiding in the ceremony of *Udayaniyá*." (Vide *Áśvaláyana Sūtra* IV, 3. *Kátyáyana* VII, 1, 16.) "Eleven barren cows, such as are meet for *Mitra*, *Varuṇa* the *Viśvedevas*, and *Brihaspati* should be sacrificed (*álabhate*) for the attainment of these deities, and since those for *Brihaspati* are the last, *Brihaspati* is the same with *Brahma*, and therefore the *Yajamána* ultimately abides in *Brahma*."§ [*Kátyáyana* explains that three cows are to be slaughtered to *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*, three to the *Viśvedevás*, and five to *Brihaspati*].

17. "Now why are there eleven ? Eleven-syllabled is the *Trishṭup*. The *Trishṭup* is the thunderbolt,—it is vigour. By the thunderbolt and vigour of the *Trishṭup*, the *Yajmána* destroys the sin within him. Threefold is the ceremony of *Udavásániya* ; "(*Aitareya Bráhmaṇa* 8, 8,)" it is a friend of the *Yajamána*.||

18. "Now for the fees (*dakṣhiṇá*). (Wealth acquired) from [a conquered] country, excluding land, and wealth taken from *Bráhmaṇas*, but including men (slaves). (Wealth from) the eastern side (of the king-

* अथ ह्येनं वागभ्युवाद । पुरुष मा सन्तिष्ठिषो यदि संस्थापयिष्यसि पुरुष एव पुरुष-
मत्स्यतीति तान् पर्यग्निकृतानेवोदहज्जनेवत्या आहुतीरजुहोताभिसा देवता अप्रीणाता
एनं प्रीता अप्रीणन् सर्वैः कामैः ॥ १२ ॥

† आग्नेन जुहोति । तेजो वाऽ आत्मानं तेजसैवास्मिन्तेजो दधाति ॥ १४ ॥

‡ एकादशिनैः संस्थापयति । एकादशाक्षरा त्रिष्टुब् वज्रस्त्रिष्टुब् वीर्यं त्रिष्टुब् वज्रैवे-
वैतद्वीर्येण यजमानो मध्यतः पाप्मानमपहते ॥ १५ ॥

§ उदयनीयायां संस्थितायां । एकादश वशा अनुबन्ध्या आलभते सैत्रावरुणीर्वैश्व-
देवीर्वाहस्यत्या एतासां देवतानामाग्नौ तद्यद्वाहस्यत्या अन्त्या भवन्ति ब्रह्म वै दृहस्यतिसदु
ब्रह्मण्येवान्तः प्रति तिष्ठति ॥ १६ ॥

|| अथ यदेकादश भवन्ति एकादशाक्षरा त्रिष्टुब् वज्रस्त्रिष्टुब् वीर्यं त्रिष्टुब् वज्रैवेवैत-
द्वीर्येण यजमानो मध्यतः पाप्मानमपहते त्रैधातव्युदवसानीयासावेव बन्धुः ॥ १७ ॥

dom), along with slaves (should be given) to the Hotá (or reciter of Rig mantras). (Wealth from) the southern side (with slaves) to the Bráhmaṇa, (the director) ; (wealth from) the western side (with slaves) to the Adhvaryu (Yajur Vedic priest) ; (wealth from) the northern side (with slaves) to the Udgátá (or singer of the Sáma hymns), and according to their dues to the Hotrikas, (or junior priests).”*

[This verse is very elliptical and obscure, and translating without the aid of a commentary, I am doubtful about its exact construction. The ellipses have been supplied from the Sūtras of Kātyāyana.]

19. “Now if a Bráhmaṇa performs the ceremony he should give (all his property) to the most learned. The Bráhmaṇa includes everything ; the knower of every thing is included in everything ; the Purushamedha includes everything, (and it is) for the attainment and subjugation of everything.†

20. “Now, keeping to himself only his own self, and his (household) fire, and after praising the sun with the Uttara Nárāyaṇa hymn, looking at nothing, he should retire to a forest ; thereby he separates himself from mankind. If he should like to dwell in a village, he should produce a fire by the rubbing of two sticks, and, praising Áditya with the Uttara Nárāyaṇa hymn, return home, and there continue to perform the rites he was used to, and which he is able to perform. He verily should not speak with every body ; to him the Purushamedha is everything, and therefore he should not speak to all (kinds of persons) ; to those only whom he knows, who are learned, and who are dear to him he may speak ; but not to all.”‡

No one, I fancy, will deny that the sacrifice described above clearly shows that it is a modification of a prior rite in which the human victims wholly or in part were immolated. No other theory can satisfactorily account for its peculiar character, and the way in which it justifies itself. Probably the number originally sacrificed was few, and that when the rite became emblematic, the number was increased in confirmation of some liturgical theory, particularly as it did not involve any trouble or difficulty.

* अथातो दक्षिणानां । मध्यं प्रति राट्स्य यदन्त्यङ्गमेव ब्राह्मणस्य च वित्तात् सपुत्रं प्राची दिग्घातुर्दक्षिणा ब्राह्मणः प्रतीचध्वर्योऽदीच्युद्गातुस्तदेव होहका चत्वाभक्ताः ॥ १८ ॥

† अथ यदि ब्राह्मणा यजेत । सर्व्ववेदसं दद्यात् सर्व्वं वै ब्राह्मणः सर्व्वं सर्व्ववेदसं सर्व्वं पुरुषमेघः सर्व्वस्याग्नेः सर्व्वस्यावरुद्धे ॥ १९ ॥

‡ अथात्तन्नदी समारोहः । उत्तरनारायणेनादित्यमुपस्थायानपेक्षमाणोऽरण्यमभि-
प्रेयात् तदेव मनुष्येभ्यस्त्रिभो भवति यद्यु ग्रामे विवस्तेदरंणोरग्नी समारोहोत्तरनारायणे-
वादित्यमुपस्थाय गृहेषु प्रत्यवस्येदथ तान् यज्ञक्रतूनाहरेत यानभ्यामुयात् स वाऽ एष न
सर्व्वस्माऽ अनुवक्तव्यः सर्व्वं हि पुरुषमेघो नेत्यर्व्वस्माऽ इव सर्व्वं ब्रवाणीति यो न्वेव ज्ञातस्तस्मै
ब्रूयादथ योऽनूचानोऽथ योऽस्य प्रियः स्यान्नेत्वेव सर्व्वस्माऽ इव ॥ २० ॥ ब्राह्मणम् । २॥[६. २.] ॥
षष्ठोऽध्यायः [८६.] ॥

But whether so or not, certain it is that at one time or other men were immolated for the gratification of some divinity or other in this rite or its prototype. The question then arises, was it the case before the date of the Rik Sañhítá, or after it?

The interval between the date of the Śatapatha Bráhmaṇa and the Sañhítá of the Rik Veda is estimated by the learned Professor Max Müller at about six and seven hundred years, and the question being, when was the sacrifice real which became emblematic in the time of the Śatapatha? it would require more confidence in one's power of conjecture than I can pretend to, to say that it must have been before the time of the Sañhítá, and not after it. National rites, customs, and ceremonies are, doubtless, very tenacious of life, but in primitive times, in the infancy and early youth of society, the characteristics of social life changed much more rapidly than in later times; certain it is, that the social condition of the Indo-Aryans and their rites and ceremonies underwent radical and most extensive changes during the interval between the Rik Sañhítá and the Śatapatha Bráhmaṇa, and there is literally not an iota of evidence to show that the rite of Purushamedha was left unaltered for the whole period. Seeing that the Bráhmaṇa depends solely on the Sañhítá for scriptural authority, and adapts the, to us, indistinct and vague generalities of the original, for the developement of a new cultus, modifying and changing details to suit its own views, the presumption becomes strong that the real sacrifice belonged to the Sañhítá, and the Bráhmaṇa divested it of its hideousness and cruelty, and made it emblematic, even as the Vaishnavas have, within the last five or six hundred years, replaced the sacrifice of goats and buffaloes to Chāṇḍiká by that of pumpkins and sugarcane.

Nor is the Purushamedha the only sacrifice at which human sacrifices were ordained. The Áśvamedha, or horse sacrifice, required the immolation of a human being just as much as the former, and hence it is that the horse sacrifice was prohibited in the Kali Yuga along with it. The Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Veda gives the following story on the subject: "Prajápati, having created all living beings, through affection entered within them. But afterwards he could not get out of them. He said, 'Whoever will extricate me from this confinement will become wealthy.' The Devas performed an Áśvamedha and thereby extricated him; thus they became wealthy. Whoever performs an Áśvamedha attains profusion of wealth by extricating Prajápati."*

* प्रजापतिः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा प्रेषानुप्राविशन् । ताभ्यः पुनः सञ्चवितुं नाशक्नोत् । सोऽब्रवीत् । ऋद्धवदित्यः । यो मेतः पुनः सञ्चरदिति । तन्देवा अश्वमेधेनैव समभरन् । ततो वै त आर्ध्ववन् । योऽश्वमेधेन यजते । प्रजापतिमेव सञ्चरन् सृष्ट्नोति ।

The object of this story is to point out the necessity of slaughtering one hundred and eighty animals of different kinds at this sacrifice to liberate Prajāpati from his confinement, and the first victim ordained is a man. "He (the institutor of the sacrifice) immolates a man; (the form of) a man is (like that of) Virāt, the type of the animated creation. By the immolation of the man is Virāt immolated. Now Virāt is food, and therefore through Virāt food is obtained."* The horse, the cow, the goat and other animals are ordained to be immolated in almost the same words; everywhere using the verb *ālabhate*. The details of the *Āsvamedha* would require more space than what I can spare here, so I must reserve them for a separate paper.

Apart from the *Purushamedha* and the *Āsvamedha*, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, in adverting to the offering of animal sacrifice generally, and enumerating separately the horse, the cow, the goat, &c., has a verse which is remarkable for the manner in which a human victim is therein referred to. It says "Let a fire-offering be made with the head of a man. The offering is the rite itself (*yajña*); therefore does it make a man a part of the sacrificial animals; and hence it is that among animals man is included as a sacrifice. Whoever offers an oblation with the head, to him the head gives vigour."† The commentator explains that by the term *puruṣa śīrṣa* "man's head", a man is understood, a part being, by a figure of speech, taken as equivalent to the whole.

Passing from the *Brāhmaṇas* to the *Itihāsas*, we have ample evidence to show that the rite of *Purushamedha* was not unknown to their authors. The *Institutes of Manu* affords the same evidence, but it would seem that when it came into currency, the rite was looked upon with horror, and so it was prohibited as unfit to be performed in the present age. The *Purāṇas* followed the *Institutes*, and the prohibition included along with it the *Āsvamedha*, suicide by drowning one's self in the sea, procreation of children on an elder brother's widow, and a variety of other reprehensible and odious rites, ceremonies and customs,‡ showing clearly that the rite originally was not so innocent as the supposition of its being emblematic would make it; for had the offering been limited to the mere repetition of a few mantras

* पुरुषमालभते । वैराजो वै पुरुषः । विराजमेवालभते । अथो अन्नं वै विराट्
अन्नमेवावरुन्धे ।

† अथ पुरुषशीर्षमभिजुहोति । आहुतिर्वै यज्ञः पुरुषं तत्पशूनां यज्ञियं करोति
तस्मात् पुरुष एव पशूनां यजते । यदेवैनदभिजुहोति । शीर्षं क्षदीयं दधाति ।

‡ Beef in Ancient India, ante XLI, p. 194.

over a certain number of men, it would not have been so obnoxious to Hindu feeling as to necessitate its suppression.

But while the Purāṇas suppressed the Purushamedha, they afford abundant indications of another rite requiring the immolation of a human victim having come into vogue. This was *Narabali*, or human sacrifice to the goddess Chámuṇḍá, or Chaṇḍiká,—a dark, fierce, sanguinary divinity, who is represented in the most awful forms, not unoften dressed in human palms, garlanded with a string of human skulls, holding a skull by the hair in one hand, and an uplifted sabre in the other, and having her person stained with patches of human gore. European orientalists assign a very modern date to the Purāṇas, and also to the Tantras which describe the cultus of this divinity; but poems and dramatic works dating from eight to fifteen hundred years ago refer to her and her predilection for human sacrifices, and lithic representations of her form of early mediæval ages are still extant. It has also been proved by unquestionable evidence that most of the leading Tantras of the Hindus were translated into Tibetan from the seventh to the ninth century of the Christian era, and thereby the worship of that goddess naturalised on the other side of the Himálaya.* It must follow that the Hindu Tantras existed for some time before the 7th century, and then the rite of *Narabali* was known and practised by the people of this country. How long before that period the rite was known, I shall not attempt to determine, for data for such a determination are not available; but the theory of interpolation apart, the goddess is mentioned in the Rámáyana as reigning in the nether regions; and her type, as I have already stated, is to be found in Artymis, and even among Assyrian records, and she cannot, therefore, reasonably be taken to be so modern as is generally supposed.

The Kálíká Purāṇa is in ecstasy on the merits of the disgusting rite. It says, "By a human sacrifice attended by the forms laid down, Deví remains gratified for a thousand years, and by a sacrifice of three men one hundred thousand years. By human flesh the goddess Kámákhya's consort Bhairava, who assumes my shape, remains pleased for three thousand years. Blood consecrated, immediately becomes ambrosia, and since the head and flesh are gratifying, therefore should the head and flesh be offered at the worship of the goddess. The wise should also add the flesh free from hair, among food offerings."† The Purāṇa then enters into minute details about the ways

* Csoma de Kőrösi, in the Asiatic Researches, (XX, pp. 569 ff.) gives a long list of Buddhist Tantras.

† नरेण बलिना देवि सहस्रं परिवत्सरान् ।
विधिदत्तेन चाप्नोति ऋप्तिं लब्धं त्रिभिर्नरैः ॥
नारेणैवाथ मांसिन विषदद्याणि च वत्सरान् ।
ऋप्तिं प्राप्नोति कामाख्याभैरवो मम रूपधृक् ॥

in which, the times when, and the places where, the rite should be celebrated ; but as the whole of the chapter in which the details occur, has been already published,* I shall confine myself here to a short extract from another chapter to give an idea of the ceremony connected with the Durgá Pújá.

After describing the ritual of the Durgá Pújá, that Purána continues—"Next should be performed such sacrifice as is gratifying to the Deví. The elephant-headed (Gaṇeśa) should be gratified with sweetmeats ; Hari with clarified butter, (*Havis*, the word may be rendered into rice, fruits, &c.) ; the all-destroying Hara, with the threefold entertainment, (of dancing, singing and music) ; but the worshipper should always gratify Chaṇḍiká with animal sacrifice. Birds, tortoises, crocodiles, hogs, goats, buffaloes, guanos, porcupines, and the nine kinds of deer, yaks, black antelopes, crows, lions, fishes, the blood of one's own body, and camels are the sacrificial animals. In the absence of these sometimes horses and elephants. Goats, sarabha, (a young elephant, or a fabulous animal with eight legs,) and human beings in the order in which they are named, are respectively called *Bali*, (sacrifice) *Mahábali*, (the great sacrifice,) and *Atibali* (highest sacrifice). Having placed the victim before the goddess, the worshipper should adore her by offering flowers, sandal paste, and bark, frequently repeating the mantra appropriate for sacrifice. Then, facing the north and placing the victim so as to face the East, he should look backward and repeat this mantra : 'O man, through my good fortune thou hast appeared as a victim ; therefore I salute thee ; thou multiform, and of the form of a victim. Thou, by gratifying Chaṇḍiká destroyeth all evil incidents to the giver. Thou, a victim, who appeareth as a sacrifice meet for the Vaishnaví, havest my salutations. Victims were created by the self-born himself for sacrificial rites ; I shall slaughter thee to-day, and slaughter at a sacrifice is no murder.'—Then meditating on that human-formed victim a flower should be thrown on the top of its head with the mantra 'Om, Aiñ, Hriñ, Sriñ'. Then, thinking of one's own wishes, and referring to the goddess, water should be sprinkled on the victim. Thereafter, the sword should be consecrated with the mantra, 'O sword, thou art the tongue of Chaṇḍiká, and bestower of the region of the gods, Om, Aiñ, Hriñ, Sriñ. Black, and holding the trident, (thou art) like the last dreadful night of creation ; born fierce, of bloody eyes and mouth, wear-

मन्त्रपूर्तं शोणितं पीयूषं जायते सदा ।

मस्तकञ्चापि तस्यापि मांसमिष्टमिदं यतः ॥

तस्मात् तन्यूजने दद्याद् बलेः शीर्षञ्च शोणितं ।

भोज्ये निर्लामांसानि नियुञ्जीयाद् विचक्षणः

इति कालिकापुराणे बलिनिर्णयाख्ये सप्तषष्ठितमोऽध्यायः ॥

* Blacquire, Asiatic Researches, vol. V. pp. 371 ff.

ing a blood-red garland, and equally sanguinary unguents (on thy person), arrayed in blood-red garment, and holding a noose, master of a family, drinking blood, and munching heaps of flesh, thou art *Asi*, (that which eats away the head of its victim); thou art *Viśasana*, (the drier up of its victim); thou art *Khadga*, (that which tears up); thou art *Tikṣṇadhāra* (keen-edged); thou art *Durāsada*, (the giver of difficultly attainable objects); thou art *S'rigarbha* (the womb of prosperity); thou art *Vijaya* (victory); thou art *Dharmapāla*, (protector of the faith); salutations be to thee. 'The sword' having been thus consecrated, should be taken up while repeating the mantra 'AṢṢ HÚṢ PHAT,' and the excellent victim slaughtered with it. Thereafter, carefully sprinkling on the blood of the victim, water, rock-salt, honey, aromatics, and flowers, it should be placed before the goddess, and the skull also with a lamp burning over it should be placed before her with the mantra, 'Om, Aiñ, Hriñ, Sriñ, Kausiki, thou art gratified with the blood.' Thus having completed the sacrifice, the worshipper attains rich reward."*

* श्रीभगवानुवाच । बलिदानं ततः पश्चात् कुर्यादेव्याः प्रमोदकं ।

मोदकैर्गजवक्त्राञ्च हविषा तोषयेद्धरिं ॥

तैर्यज्ञिकैश्च निचमैः शङ्करं तोषयेद्धरं ।

चण्डिकां बलिदानेन तोषयेत् साधकः सदा ॥

पद्मिणः कच्छपग्राहा वराहाश्चागलास्तथा ।

सहिषा गोधिका शालस्तथा नवविधा सृगाः ॥

चामरः कृष्णसारश्च यमः पञ्चाननस्तथा ।

सत्स्याः खगाचरुधिरं चोदृक्का बलघो सताः ॥

अभावे च तथैवैषां कदाचिद्वयहस्तिनौ ।

कागलः सरभश्चैव नरश्चैव यथाक्रमान् ॥

बलिर्महाबलिरतिबलयः परिकीर्त्तिताः ।

स्यापथिला बलिनात्र पुण्यचन्दनवल्कलैः ॥

पूजयेत् साधको देवीं बलिमल्लैर्मुकुटैः ।

उत्तराभिमुखो भूला बलिं पूर्वमुखस्तथा ॥

निरीक्ष्य साधकः पश्चादिदं मन्त्रमुदीरयेत् ।

नरस्त्वं बलिरूपेण मम भाग्यादुपस्थितः ।

प्रणमामि ततः सर्वरूपिणं बलिरूपिणं ॥

चण्डिकाप्रीतिदानेन दातुरापद्मिनाग्निने ।

वैष्णवीबलिरूपाय बले तुभ्यं नमोऽस्तु ते ॥

यज्ञार्थे बलयः हृष्टाः स्वयमेव स्वयम्भवा ।

अतस्त्वां घातयाम्यद्य तस्माद् यज्ञे बधोऽबधः ॥

It is not necessary for me to swell the bulk of this paper, already more swollen than what I at first intended to make it, by collecting notes of all the places where, and the occasions when, the rite of Narabali was performed, in order to show how widespread was the practice during the middle ages and modern times. Ward has given several instances of its occurrence in Bengal in his elaborate dissertation on the Hindus. The fact is well known that for a long time the rite was common all over Hindustan; and persons are not wanting who suspect that there are still nooks and corners in India where human victims are occasionally slaughtered for the gratification of the Deví. In old families which belong to the sect of the Vámá-cháris and whose ancestors formerly offered human victims at the Durgá and the Kálí pújás, a practice still obtains of sacrificing an effigy, in lieu of a living man. The effigy, a foot long, is made of dried milk (*khíra*), and sacrificed according to the formula laid down in the Kálíká Purána, the only addition being a few mantras designed typically to vivify the image. A friend of mine, Bábu Hemchunder Ker, Deputy Magistrate of Twenty-four Pergunnahs and author of an excellent work on the culture of Jute in Bengal, informs me

ॐ ऐं ह्रीं श्रीं इति मन्त्रेण तं बलिं नररूपिणं ।
 चिन्तयित्वा न्यसेत् पुष्पं सूडिं तस्य च भैरव ॥
 ततो देवीं समुद्दिश्य काममुद्दिश्य चात्मनः ।
 अभिषिच्य बलिं पश्चात् करवाल् प्रपूजयेत् ॥
 रसना त्वं चण्डिकायाः सुरलोकप्रसाधकः ।
 ॐ ऐं ह्रीं श्रीं खड्गेति मन्त्रेण खड्गं प्रपूजयेत् ।
 कृष्णं पिनाकपाणिञ्च कालरात्रिरूपिणं ।
 उग्रं रक्तास्थनयनं रक्तमाल्यानुलेपनं ॥
 रक्ताम्बरधरश्चैव पाशहस्तं कुटुम्बिनं ।
 पिवमानञ्च रुधिरं भुञ्जानं क्रयसंहतिं ॥
 असिर्विशसनः खड्गस्त्रीक्षणधारो दुरासदः ।
 श्रीगर्भो विजयश्चैव धर्मपाल नमोऽस्तु ते ॥
 पूजयित्वा ततः खड्गं आँ ऊँ फडिति मन्त्रकैः ।
 गृहीत्वा विमलं खड्गं वेदेयेद् बलिमुत्तमं ॥
 ततो बलीनां रुधिरं तोयैः सैन्धवतत्फलैः ।
 मधुभिर्गन्धपुष्पैश्च अधिवास्य प्रयत्नतः ॥
 ॐ ऐं ह्रीं श्रीं कौशिकीति रुधिराध्यायितासि ते ।
 स्थाने नियोजयेद्रक्तं शिरश्च सप्रदीपकं ॥
 एवं दत्त्वा बलिं पूर्णं फलं प्राप्नोति साधकः ॥

that in the eastern districts of Bengal this sacrifice is frequently performed, but the image, instead of being slaughtered by a single individual, is cut up simultaneously by all the grown-up members of the family, either with separate knives, or with a single knife jointly held by all. This is known by the name of *Satrubali* or “sacrifice of an enemy.” The sacrifice, both in the case of Nara- and the Satru-bali, is performed secretly, generally at midnight. The *Satrubali*, however, is a distinct rite, apart from the Narabali of the Kālikā Purāṇa, and authority for it occurs in the Vrihannīla Tantra, in which it is said, after performing certain other rites therein described, “a king should sacrifice his enemy (in an effigy) made with dried milk (*khīra*). He should slaughter it himself, looking at it with a fiery glance, striking deep, and dividing it into two with a single stroke. This should be done after infusing life into it by the rite of *Prāṇa-pritishṭhā*, and repeating the name of the person to be destroyed. O consort of Maheśa, he doubtless destroys thereby his enemies.”*

The offering of one's own blood to the goddess, to which reference has been made above in the extract from the Kālikā Purāṇa, is a mediæval and modern rite. It is made by women, and there is scarcely a respectable house in all Bengal, the mistress of which has not, at one time or other, shed her blood, under the notion of satisfying the goddess by the operation. Whenever her husband or a son is dangerously ill, a vow is made that on the recovery of the patient, the goddess would be regaled with human blood, and on the first Durgā Pújā following, or at the temple at Kālighāt, or at some other sacred fane, the lady performs certain ceremonies, and then bares her breast in the presence of the goddess, and with a nail-cutter (*naruna*) draws a few drops of blood from between her busts, and offers them to the divinity. The last time I saw the ceremony was six years ago, when my late revered parent, tottering with age, made the offering for my recovery from a dangerous and long-protracted attack of pleurisy. Whatever may be thought of it by persons brought up under a creed different from that of the Indo-Aryans, I cannot recall to memory the fact without feeling the deepest emotion for the boundless affection which prompted it.

Of human sacrifices among the non-Aryan tribes of India, it is not my intention to make any mention here, so I bring this paper to a

* ततः शत्रुबलिं राजा दद्यात् क्षीरेण निर्मलं ।

स्वयं विन्द्यात् शोधय्या प्रहारजनकेन च ॥

कोपेन बध्नादेवि सत्यं सत्यं महेश्वरि ।

प्राणप्रतिष्ठां कृत्वा वै शत्रुनाम्ना महेश्वरि ।

शत्रुक्षयो महेशानि भवत्येव न संशयः ॥

close by adding the following summary of the conclusions which may be fairly drawn from the facts cited above:

1st. That, looking to the history of human civilization and the rituals of the Hindus, there is nothing to justify the belief that in ancient times the Hindus were incapable of sacrificing human beings to their gods.

2nd. That the Sunahsépha hymns of the Rik Sañhitá most probably refer to a human sacrifice.

3rd. That the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa refers to an actual and not a typical human sacrifice.

4th. That the Purushamedha originally required the actual sacrifice of men.

5th. That the Śatapatha Bráhmaṇa sanctions human sacrifice in some cases, but makes the Purushamedha emblematic.

6th. That the Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa enjoins the sacrifice of a man at the Horse sacrifice.

7th. That the Puráṇas recognise human sacrifices to Chaṇḍiká, but prohibit the Purushamedha rite.

8th. That the Tantras enjoin human sacrifices to Chaṇḍiká, and require that when human victims are not available, an effigy of a human being should be sacrificed to her.



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Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

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Description of a trip to the Gilgit Valley, a dependancy of the Mahárájá of Kashmír.—By CAPT. H. C. MARSH, 18th Bengal Cavalry.

(With three plates and a map.)

Starting in the summer of 1875 from Srinagar, the chief town of Kashmír, my route lay through the pretty valley of the Pohar river and over the watershed dividing the drainage of the Jhelum and the Kishn-ganga. I crossed over the latter river by a slack twig-rope bridge and continued up the Kheyl nála, a small tributary coming from the highlands under the immense mass of the Nanga Parbat mountain on the borders of Chilas.* I arrived at the Mír Malik district of the Astor country by an hitherto almost unknown pass, called by the Astories 'Sheothur' or Bone-cutting, about 15,000 feet high, at that time covered with snow; and marching through the Astor valley (a brief description of which I gave in the 'Pioneer' of January 1876), I found myself at the desolate village of Bunji on the arid banks of the Indus river on the 16th July.

The wars between the former rulers of Gilgit, especially those of Goraman against the Dogras, as the Kashmír troops are generally called, have devastated a once flourishing district, for such it was, in the times of Ahmad Sháh, the former ruler of Skardu.

The present aspect of the Bunji plain is a desert. There are a few fields and trees round the fort itself, the whole country slopes from the high snow-

* A sketch of the Mazena Pass leading into Chilas is given. It was hitherto almost unknown, and is situated at the head of the Roupel Nála, one of the glaciers of the Nang Parbat. The Pass is only open in September and October, and is little used.

clad peaks at the end of the Astor Valley towards the Indus, and is covered with stones and boulders, gravel and sand, cut up by many dry watercourses, presenting the most forbidding aspect of a country brought to ruin by contending factions, not only Dogra and Gilgit, but Astor and Chilas, also Chilas and Dogra, all at various times, within the last twenty-five years, choosing this unfortunate place as a battle-ground. The traveller leaving Kashmír and journeying through these narrow, poor valleys cannot understand why such unproductive conquests should have been undertaken by the Kashmír Government. Even for the greed of dominion, little or no advantage has accrued to the conquerors. In short, the Dogras, in their ideas of conquest, committed a great blunder in annexing either Astor or Gilgit, as both have been a burden on the State ever since their acquisition, Astor having to be supplied with grain for the troops required to hold it, and Gilgit only just supporting the small garrison located there. Even if the taking of Astor is advanced on the plea of strategy, so as to gain a good natural and political frontier on the Indus, what can be urged for crossing that frontier into a far off and useless country like Gilgit, of small resources and difficult to hold.

The former inhabitants of Bunji were Shins mixed up with Bhútiahs from Skardu, but latterly, before its final destruction about 1852, most of the people were Shins from the opposite and populous valley of Sye. The Fort was rebuilt by the Dogras in that year, but the fertilizing canal which used to bring water from the adjacent nála was not repaired, so that the present village consists of less than a dozen houses of Kashmíri thieves, transported to the place, and a company of sepoy in the fort.

The few fields are eaten up by grasshoppers that annually appear about harvest time, and the villagers have a constant struggle for life. The soldiers are fed on Kashmír grain.* The summer heat here is great, the thermometer Fah. marking from 69 to 95 in the shade and over 104 in the sun.

The ferry over the Indus is about two miles from the Fort. The latter is situated at least 500 feet above the river. There are only three boats, such as are used in Kashmír for ferry purposes, each capable of holding some 30 people. The river runs about three miles an hour and is from 500 to 600 feet broad. The road lay through old uncultivated fields, and descending by a winding path down two terraces to the banks of the river, we waited till the Kashmíri boatmen arrived to convey us over. On the bare bank a garden has recently been planted. The natives are very superstitious, and only after many invocations to God for protection on the unstable element, did they allow myself, pony and coolies to embark, a sepoy accompanying me. The two boatmen were not powerful enough by themselves, so we

* For a description of this grain supply see the "Pioneer" of 17th December, 1875, for my account of Ponies in 'Kashmir'.

all had to take to the paddles and urge the unwieldy craft to the opposite or right bank, which is higher than the left, and crowned by an old fort. The scenery of the river is desolate but grand; the surrounding hills, some 20,000 feet high, are bare of vegetation, steep, and in winter peaked with snow, which, however, seldom falls in the valley itself.

Shortly after leaving the river and entering into the Sye valley, which is watered by a stream falling into the river just below the ferry, we came to the first village of a few houses called Dumrote, surrounded by green fields and fruit trees, a pleasant contrast to the desolation on the Bunji side.

After marching up the Sye river three or four miles, we arrived at the junction of two streams, and crossing the Sye, by wading one half and the other half by a bridge, we made a short halt at the village of Sungrot, a large, well populated place, to change our coolies, the Astor ones having come four marches with us, as none were procurable *en route*.* The Vizier, Bagdur Sháh, a Shin, lives here, and is the chief man in the valley; he came to pay his respects, and helped me to get men to carry my traps. The Sye valley from this point contracts, and the path leads along the right bank of the Sye river close to the water. At times the river floods the road. This wild and desolate scene continues for four miles, with high steep hills on each side, when again the valley opens out to nearly its former size, about a mile broad, at the village of Chakerkot.

Here all was smiling plenty and peaceful repose, green fields of wheat, barley and other grains, such as Trombu and China, together with fig, walnut, grape, and mulberry trees, on all sides. The clouds which had been threatening, here broke over us with a crash of thunder, the rain deluging us in a moment, and glad were we to find shelter in the small enclosed masjid of the village. The mosques of these countries are enclosed and have deep verandas round them, if in populous places; if not, they are simply a square room with a small door and a hole in the roof to let out the smoke of the fire, which generally burns all day long.

I was soon surrounded by the simple villagers, but unfortunately not understanding their language, Shina, could keep up but a broken conversation in Persian with the Mullá, who only knew a few words.

After the storm was over, we came out and found the court in front full of people, mostly children, who had come to see the Firingí, or Farang. Again changing coolies, we continued our march through the pleasant fields and under the shade of fruit trees. The path ascends the valley, passing

* The method of forced labour in these countries is unavoidable with the present arrangements, causing great discontent and even desertion into other countries. All might be obviated by a good road to facilitate pony traffic.

many small hamlets and solitary farms with pretty scenery, till the village of Jugrote is reached five miles from Sungrote. Here my tent was pitched, close to the well-kept mosque.

The lower and inhabited part of the Sye valley, only twelve miles in length, owing to its fertility, is the envy of the surrounding countries. The inhabitants are all Sunní Muhammadans of the Shin clan, and this small community never having been able to hold its own against its more powerful neighbours, Gilgit and Chilas, has passed from hand to hand according to the varying fortunes of either tribe, but still has escaped the fate of Bunji, owing, no doubt in part, to the people being more industrious and helping one another, and in part to the great fertility of the soil and plentiful supply of water. The people are an independent set and must be gently used, as they brook little tyranny at the hands of the Kashmíri; for if taxed too heavily, they pack up their goods and chattles and making a flying march with their families and cattle, go over into the Yaghy or Free country of Gor and Dareyl, which are situated at the back or west of their valley.

There is another road to Gilgit higher up the Indus and along the Gilgit river, from its junction upwards, not used for some years past, a part of the road having been carried away into the latter river by an earthquake.

Continuing my route, the road to Gilgit leads straight up the Sye valley to Jugrote, and the Pass of Niladar between the two countries overhangs the village. The south side of the Niladar pass is easy, but has no water on it; the lower ascent is gradual, over a stony hill side, but the upper part is steep and rocky, all of a red colour. A well defined path leads all the way up the Pass, which I traversed on foot. The summit, reached in about two hours, disappoints one as to the view. The Sye valley and Indus below look pretty, Bunji a dark speck of green on a red field. A short distance still further up, the Barbuni* valley can be seen, but of Gilgit, little more than a confusion of rocky bare peaks, the river being hidden in its deep bed.

The descent is very long, but at first gradual, and if we divide it into four parts, would be described as the 1st and 2nd parts an easy slope over a bare waterless gravelly plateau. A large herd of urial, or wild sheep, enlivened the scene; they kept too far off to give me a shot, galloping away out of sight over fearful ground. In the 3rd part, the descent becomes more rough and steep, the river below, with a part of its valley, comes into view, as the path leads more to the north-east and parallel to the Gilgit river, the lower part is the most trying, still steeper and rougher, till at last we scrambled down into the river bed by a nearly precipitous cliff, and rushed to drink of its muddy waters, now swollen by melting snows. The path then leads up the steep bank again, crossing many wearisome

* The local name of the Sye River, which rises on the south slopes of Pehot Mountain, on the boundaries of Dareyl and Gilgit.

ravines, till, fairly tired out, the traveller (riding not being easy on such a rough road) at length arrives at the high slope on which Minnor, the first large village in the valley, is situated.

I reached this place at 2 p. m., having been on the move from dawn, the distance is about 12 miles.

The Justero, or Headman, brought me a 'dollie' of fruit, which was most acceptable to a weary man. The village contains about 30 houses and is prosperous; the inhabitants are Shins as in Astor, and mostly understand the Hindústání spoken in the Panjáb, owing to their intercourse with the Dogra troops, which have occupied the country continuously since 1860. I remained at Minnor two days. It was most enjoyable under the shade of the walnut trees in the village green, but in the middle of the day in the sun, the heat was great. The peculiarity of this village was, that it kept no poultry, because, as the old Justero told me, in former days, they had had a great faction fight among themselves, owing to the fowls of one of the villagers having got into the garden of another, and eaten some of the fruit in it: after the fight was over and their hot blood had cooled down, the old men made all swear that they would never keep any more fowls in the village. But though I could not obtain fowls, I had plenty of food brought me as presents in return for my medicines.

I always travel with a supply of common drugs, and invite patients to come to me for treatment, which obtains for me free intercourse with all classes of the people, men, women, and children. There are no medical men in those parts, and the poverty of the masses prevents them from obtaining medicines for themselves, besides their ignorance is great on all such matters. They require very strong drugs to affect them, croton oil being a favourite. The quacks of the country generally use poisons, such as arsenic, in small doses, as purgatives.

Next day we started early, so as to arrive in Gilgit before the great heat. We soon got clear of the range of the village fields and the shade of trees, back into the heat and glare; ther. 103° at noon in shade. A fine view of the Gilgit valley was before us, the river below, the bare rocky hills on each side with the snowy peaks of Hara-mush, 24,000 ft.; Dubani, 20,000 ft.; and Rakiposhi, 25,000 ft. high, in the distance to the north-east.

The valley is three miles broad at its greatest width, but opposite Minnor only a mile. The villages are situated where sufficient water can be obtained for irrigation purposes. The supplying streams have thrown up a sloping plateau with the débris brought down from the hills. On these high slopes the villages are built, surrounded by trees, and easily seen at a distance, owing to the whole country being a light red colour without vegetation.

The path is good and fit for ponies. We passed through the small village of Sakewan, watered by a stream which, like that of Minnor, nearly dries up in

August; then on again over desert till the Sonéup stream is reached, which flows from the peak behind the hills to the west, called Kumeregeh, a day's march off. Half the water is wasted, as is usual in these countries, owing to carelessness and indifference: no tanks or dams are made to retain water for the dry season; water-wheels are also unknown. We forded the stream, sweet to drink, but icy cold, and rested in the village of Jutial just beyond, from whence is seen, far below, the plain of Gilgit, with its Fort by the river side. Here we had a great feast of grapes, rich clusters hanging within reach of the road side. Throughout the country grapes are not picked by the people before they are fully ripe. A day is fixed for the vintage, when they are cut by the men and carried home by the women with great rejoicing; most honestly is this custom carried out, they do not object to a stranger eating, but will not touch them themselves, they also impose a fine of a kid on any one found trespassing. The old Justero of Minnor's little son was brought to me for treatment, and on asking him if he had eaten anything that morning, after a great deal of pressing and persuasion, he acknowledged he had eaten some grapes!!! A roar of laughter was raised at this answer by the bystanders, as the old man would have to pay a kid for the boy's fault.

I had a deal of trouble and delay, caused by the frequent changing of coolies, as they will only go from village to village. No amount of pay could induce them to go beyond the next village; for they hate carrying loads, and do not care for the few pice they can thus gain.

The plain immediately surrounding the Fort, the centre around which the many villages are dotted, is about four miles long and two miles broad, bordered by the river to the north, Jutial to the south and east, and the heights of Nafur to the west. It is about 200 feet above the river, and is plentifully watered by a canal, taken out four miles up the river; on its right bank it is well cultivated and peopled.

On passing the first few houses of the village, the coolies asked me where I should like to camp, so I chose a nice dry spot under a walnut tree about 400 yards from the garden, in which lie the remains of poor Hayward, who was murdered in Yassin in 1870. I did not go near the Fort, because of its disagreeable proximity to the Dogra sepoys, a dirty lot. The great object in choosing a camping ground, is to escape from the mosquitoes which infest all damp places in the valley.

Close to me were encamped two other travellers, who were having a national dance performed by some Gilgitis. It was an animated scene, we sat in the inner circle, and were surrounded by a large crowd of Dogras and villagers, all attracted by the sound of the fifes and drums, to which the dancers kept time. Some of the dances were 'Pas-de-seul', others again were danced in a circle by a number of young men, the pace and gestures of each

increasing as they warmed to their work, all keeping pretty good time with the leader of the dance. Amongst those assembled on this occasion were the Kárdár, or Governor, of Gilgit, an old Sikh, Bhai Ganga Singh, the General commanding the Kulla fauj, or Militia, Mán Singh, and Colonels Tej Singh or Teju, and Hushiárá, commanding the two Regiments quartered here, also the Vizier of Gilgit, Ghulám Haidar, and some of the people from Yassin, who were accompanying the Envoy sent to the Governor of Gilgit. The same evening we heard of the death of the wretch Mír Walí, the murderer of Hayward, he having been shot ten days previous to our arrival. The following statement was the account we heard :

Hayward was killed by order of Amán-i-Mulk, ruler of Chitral, by Mír Walí, the Rájá of Yassin, his son-in-law, who was assisted by Rahmat, his prime minister or Vizier, and Muhammad Rafí' Nabí Beg, foster-brother to the Mír. Nabí Beg's mother having, from the death of his own mother, brought up Mír Walí from the cradle. The unhappy traveller was murdered just outside the village of Darkot, a march beyond Yassin towards the Pamir Steepe. When Mír Walí obtained Hayward's loot or property, he fled to Badakhshán with it, and asked the assistance of the Duránís of Kábul, to recover his country from Phailwan, his younger brother, who had been given the throne of Yassin on his flight to Badakhshán. Mír Walí stated he fled, because he fancied Amán-i-Mulk wished to get him into trouble with the Kashmír authorities.

About two months ago (May 1875), Mír Walí, still with the Duránís, finding that Amán-i-Mulk retained a bad feeling against him (for not giving him a part of the spoil) and would not return him his country of Yassin, sent his wife, Amán-i-Mulk's daughter, and her little son five years old, to him, to Chitral, saying, "If you will not make friends with me, at least do something for your own daughter and her son, let him have Yassin; if not, I will get Durání help and bring a force against you."

Amán-i-Mulk, Rájá of Tatíal, as that part of Chitral round the Fort is called, being uneasy at these threats, determined to throw himself into the hands of the Duránís, with whom he had been lately far from friendly, because they had been trying to take some small forts from him,* so he sent Phailwan to Takhtpul near Balkh, to the Durání Governor of Turkistán, with a message, saying "I will salám to you, give you my daughter in marriage and all my wealth, if you will turn Mír Walí out of Badakhshán." The Duránís had on Mír Walí's first flying to them demanded of Amán-i-Mulk his restitution to Yassin, but now on Amán-i-Mulk's overtures, turned against Mír Walí and ordered him out of their territories. Mír Walí had, since

* These forts are situated on the south slopes of the Hindu-Kush, on the confines of the Bashgali or Káfir country, which shows that Kábul is trying to extend her rule beyond Badakhshán into Chitral by the Dorah Pass from Zebak.

his murder of Hayward, been staying at a small place called Gurgial, close to Kil'ah Punj, a few days journey to the north of Chitral across a range of the Hindu-Kush, called Yarkun.

Phailwan, as soon as his embassy proved successful, returned to Yassin, and about fifteen days ago (4th July, 1875), Mír Walí, having been turned out of Gurgial, was coming over the Yarkun into Mustach, when he was waylaid in a narrow spot, quite close to that place, by two sons of Hayát Núr, Phailwan's Vizier, with 50 or 60 men. Mír Walí had 40 Chitral and Yassin men in his pay, who had shared his fortunes, also his foster-brother Nabí Beg, who had assisted to murder Hayward, and was his factotum; as soon as the Mír saw the ambuscade into which he had fallen, he drew Hayward's revolver and shot at one of his enemies, the ball striking his head and glancing off the turban. Mír Walí was then killed by two bullets, together with three of his men, the rest were captured—of the Yassin party Hayát Núr's youngest son was killed together with several men. Nabí Beg is amongst the prisoners.

This is the account accepted generally by the people themselves of this affair. The next day, my two friends left for Astor.

I found great difficulty in getting my shoes and chuplis, or sandals, mended; they do not cure leather by tanning, in all the countries of Yagistan, but simply rub it together till it becomes like wash leather. Of course all leather articles waste away like paper in wet weather, and the people depend on harness or sword belts from Kashmir or Badakhshán, from whence they also obtain their matchlocks.

The people are very ignorant, and less warlike than their neighbours, which accounts for their having been conquered. When the Dogras first came into Gilgit in 1847, they found all the now cultivated land, a jungle of wild fruit trees, with a few huts, in which the inhabitants lived in wet or cold weather. This jungle they first cleared, and only in the last eight years have the people been taught to cultivate the land as they ought.

I went to see the Fort, built of earth many years ago by Gurtam Khán, a former ruler of Gilgit. It has changed hands many times, and has often been demolished and rebuilt. Goraman rebuilt it of stone and mud, lime being unknown to these people. Within the last fifteen years, the Dogras have entirely rebuilt it on a new site close to the old Fort, which lies a heap of stones. It is now built of beams of wood, stones and clay in layers, the wooden frames helping to bind all firmly together. There are double walls; the inner court is used as a store-room for provisioning the garrison. Its armament consists of 1 small six-pounder brass gun, 6 "sher-bachas", or 1 lb wall piece swivels, and six large "jazáils", or two ounce matchlocks.

The garrison is made up of about 500 men, mostly militia. They drill daily after a fashion, and, for the country, are a sufficiently powerful force

in ordinary times, to hold the place. The fort is on the banks of the river, 100 feet above it, and depends on the river for water, a covered way leading down to it. The other day an earthquake shook down one of its bastions, which was being repaired during my stay. The highest bastion commands the river on both banks and the whole plain. A few of our shells would soon demolish the whole affair.

The difference of level of this river in the hot and the cold weather is fully 20 feet. It contains few if any fish, and the sand is not washed for gold as is the stream coming from Hunza and Nagyr, which contains quantities of the precious metal. The snows melting in July and August on the Pamir and highlands of Yassin, raise it to its highest level; in winter it can be waded across at most parts, up to the junction of the Nagyr stream, at the village of Dyor, a short way below the fort, from which point till it joins the Indus it is too deep. No boats are used on the river, nor are rafts brought down its floods. Only one bridge of twig ropes crosses at Gilgit, the opposite or left bank not being as well inhabited as its right.

There are many who speak Persian among the Gilgitis; some Yassinis are met with, as a Vakíl and ten men are detained here and changed from time to time. These are guarantees for good behaviour, which shows that Kashmir exercises a certain amount of influence out of its own immediate boundaries, as the Rájás of Hunza and Nagyr also send Vakíls, but no Kashmirí is allowed to live in either Yassin or Kunjut, as Hunza and Nagyr are called, although they are separate and independent states.

I have daily large presents of fruit brought to me by my poor patients, grapes of three sorts, white, yellow, and red; apples of two sorts; water-melons large and sweet, long in shape, also cucumbers and figs, the fruits now in season. In the evenings, I have large audiences, visitors coming from far and near, to talk. I do not think the people are such bigoted Muham-madans, as in our North-West frontier, and a Medical Missionary who understood the dialects spoken, would have a fair chance of being listened to patiently. These people are very ignorant, though a few learn the Korán by heart, both men and women.

Manufactures are very rude, a coarse cotton cloth, about fifteen inches broad, and quite plain, also a stuff of wool. Wooden platters, bowls, and spoons, very bad soft knife blades, no guns or swords, or leather articles. Boots, or Pabus, made like moccasins, are of raw hide, and are used only in dry weather, and a description of long stockings made by women of coloured wool like a bag without a heel; some of the patterns are pretty and effective. All well-to-do persons wear these, but like most articles they are made for home use only, few being obtainable in the market. The head dress of the people is not a turban, but a broad topped cap made like a bag, its edge being rolled up, so as to form a thick brim, which can be pulled down over the ears and neck in cold weather.

The name Boté, as the people call themselves, is not to be confounded with the Bhútias or Tibetans. The name is derived from the cap, so that all who wear this headdress, be they Shí'ah, Sunní, Astorí, Gilgití, or Chílásí, Shín, or Yeshkun, are Boté, although the difference of language is great between all these countries, especially the latter. Of the two castes, if one might so call them, the Shín is the highest, and forms a comparatively small, but influential body throughout Astor, Gilgit, Guaris, and parts of Chilas; they are careful to intermarry only among themselves, but of late years, the Yeshkun, or mixed breed, is unavoidably increasing, owing to the pressure put on by the Kashmírís, who all like to intermarry with Shín families if possible. The Shíns are a fine class, and look upon themselves as the *crème de la crème*. In Gilgit there are about 100 families of pure descent, they are looked up to as upright honest people, whose word and faith may be depended upon, in fact most of the heads of the villages are Shíns.

The Kárdár, Ganga Singh, had on the departure of my friends for Astor, gone to Sher Kíl'a, to place on the *gaddí*, or throne, the son of the late 'Isá Bahádur, chief of that place, who had died a month before our arrival, and now came to see me in state with a large following.

He is a little old man, very polite, was formerly the Darbár Munshí to the Resident at Srinagar. He has lately been made Governor, and is well acquainted with our ways. I told him of my desire to proceed to Gaokuch, the furthest point on the Kashmír frontier. He of course made every excuse, as roads were bad, nothing to be seen, great heat, no food, &c., &c., but seeing I was determined on going, he gave in with a good grace, and made all the arrangements necessary for my comfort and safety.

I visited Colonel Teja Singh, some relative to the Maharájá of Kashmír, a broken-down old man, and the Sunadis, or General, Mán Singh, who were both hard at work, the former, in drilling the troops, the latter, making improvements in and about the fort. The troops were expecting their usual two-year relief, and longing for the return to Kashmír and Jammú. They have rather hard times of it in this outpost, getting few or no luxuries, as all articles imported are very expensive, and money scarce.

The coinage is copper, and has to be brought from Srinagar, which increases its value much. The usual rate for pice at the capital is ten to the anna, but here only four go to the anna, which makes all small articles in the bazar very expensive, for instance, tobacco, sugar, and salt, all of which have to be imported.*

In my evening strolls amongst the villages, I came across some ancient mounds and slabs of sandstone and granite, the remains of the palace of a former Rájá by name Shirbudut, regarding whom are many popular

* It would be a gain to travellers to take coppers with them.

legends, one is—Azro Shamsher, a demigod who appeared on mount Koh, opposite Minnor, heard how much the people were oppressed by Shirbudut, and came to the palace to try and rid them of the tyrant. The palace had no gates, but the Rájá had a flying horse which used to leap the walls, and alight always on one spot. Sherbudut had a daughter, whom he used to bring out on his horse for a walk at times. Azro while devising some scheme, was one day walking round the Castle walls, when the Rájá and his daughter 'Urzu' suddenly appeared on the horse and alit at their usual place. He hid himself and saw the Rájá go into the mountains to shoot, Urzu being left behind to amuse herself under some shady trees. He went up and made himself known to her, and to make a long story short, they fell in love, and after many difficulties Azro killed the Rájá, married the beautiful Urzu, and became Rájá of Gilgit. They had a daughter by name Jaushiní, who married one of the ancestors of Ahmad Khán, chief of Skardu, by name Mírzá. Jaushiní ruled in Gilgit in her own right, and was as much beloved by the people as Shirbudut had been hated. One day, the Queen and her consort were sitting under the shade of their fruit trees watching their maids treading the wine-vat, when a crow alighted near them and began cawing. She being annoyed asked him to shoot it, but Mírzá from some superstition refused to do so, and the Queen, taking up his gun to fire, shot it dead with a bullet. He was greatly surprised at her good shot, and taking into consideration other wonderful feats he had noticed in reference to his wife, concluded she must be like her father Azro, more than mortal. He separated himself from her, fearing her violent temper and returned to Skardu. The Queen remained in Gilgit, and after reigning eighty years, one day disappeared. The son of her daughter who had married Habí Khán, a Nagyr chief, succeeded her, and from that son was descended Gurtham Khán, Rájá of Gilgit, who is still remembered by "the oldest inhabitant." The old Polo ground near the Masjid now lately taken into use again by the Gilgitís, is said to have been laid out and used by Shirbudut.

The village of Nafúr, situated in the slope of the hills which bound the valley to the west, and considerably above the Fort, has a curious Buddhist figure carved on a rock at the side of a nála, which is said to be very ancient. From this village a good view is obtained of the Gilgit Valley, the temperature also is lower, and having some fine old Chinárs, is a pleasant place to pass the day.

I used to be surrounded by patients, whose number increased daily. They came from all parts, Yassin, Hunza, Nagyr, Dareyl, Tangyr, and Panyal, all surrounding states, even the sepoy and officers from the Fort and traders from Koli and Palas on the Indus came to me for medicine. Every disease flesh is heir to, here finds its representative.

Amongst others the vakil from Yassin, an old Sayyid, blind of one eye, came to have the other doctored, and after I had applied a remedy, he stood up, and with upraised hands gave me a blessing from the Korán in Arabic, to which, when he had finished, the whole assembly said Amen,—an impressive scene.

The old Colonel from the Fort came for some magical elixir, to reinvigorate a system broken down with debauchery—also two merchants from Koli, who were here collecting their debts (which are paid only in gold dust). These were fine large men, but nearly disabled by rheumatism. Goat-herds from Dareyl also came to ask for drugs.

Having now been encamped for a week and the heat daily increasing, I determined to push on as fast as possible, so striking my tent at dawn of the 26th July with only seven coolies and a pony I started. The first part of the way led along a raised road with a canal on the left, and after passing out of the villages, we reached the river, and went along its right bank to the village of Bassein, where they grow rice, down to a nála which is bridged; then the road leads up over a steep spur to the house of 'Azmat Sháh and his family, the rightful heir to Yassin, now a pensioner of the Dogras. He was absent in Srinagar urging his claims, so I did not see him, only his son. There is a nice Polo ground through which the path leads, and a mile beyond, the upper Gilgit Valley begins to close in. The dry steep cliffs radiate great heat, and all is desolation, as far as the hamlet of Hunzil four miles. This spot has been uncultivated for many years past, and we saw the first crop of wheat stacked. There are no trees here, only a few fields and two huts. A high conical mound marks the ruins of a former monument of some sort of which nothing is known.

A short 300 yards beyond is a rock with water near, which affords shade up to noon, the path then ascends a very bad spur called "Katate" and along the steep banks of the river. Just at the worst spot where the path way is so narrow, that two ponies can hardly pass, I met young Fúlád, 'Ysá Bahádúr's little son going to Gilgit to be educated. My pony nearly kicked him down into the river, the plucky behaviour of the two men leading the animals (it being too steep to ride) only prevented an unpleasant accident. Then descending to the river bank along a short level, we arrived at the foot of a granite spur up which the path leads, with no shade, only glare and heat.

From the top of the spur, Hunzil is to be seen below, bearing 340°, then scrambling down again to the river, which is here very rapid and narrow, we had a long sandy stretch along the water. This part is called 'Yaspur Kun.' The river widens again soon, and reaching some tamarisk trees we rested in the shade at 2 p. m., thermometer in shade 105° Fah. The river here has a few islands in its bed covered with long grass and bushes. The path usually runs

along its right bank when the water is low, but owing to its sudden and great rise we had to make a long *detour* over a high hill up which three paths lead, the upper for ponies and the lower for footmen, but being in the jungle with no one to ask the road we had great trouble. The pony had to be led along the upper road, too steep to ride. I wished to go the shortest cut, but the coolies being behind I had no one to show me the way, so I wandered out of the right direction and had great difficulty in finding the road. At 5 P. M., I reached the top, five miles from Hunzil, and saw Panyal below me due west, the descent was very bad. By sunset I reached the first village, three miles from top of the mountain, called Sherote, the last mile only being a good road.

How refreshing it was to enter this oasis! Its rippling streams, shady groves and clustering fruit made us forget the fatigues of the day. The tent was pitched under the Chinárs, where the villagers used to assemble in the cool of the evening.

One of the streams fed a covered tank, used to keep the drinking water cool, and here came the maidens not only to fill their pitchers, but to have a sly peep at the strangers. The village consists of twenty houses, enclosed by a stone wall, which has acted as a fort in past rebellious times. This is called the boundary of Gilgit and the beginning of the country of Panyal. In reality Gilgit ends at Hunzil, but they say a former Rájá gave this and its sister village on the other side of the river, as a dowry with his daughter to a Rájá of Gilgit. The boundary is only political as these Sherotis have the same manners and customs as all the others villagers of Panyal.

Panyal is the long upper valley of the same river I had been following. The people are all Shí'ahs, instead of Sunnís as in Gilgit. Their language is almost the same, but with less Panjábí, and more Yassini and Persian. Throughout this valley the people keep silkworms, and reel silk. They also make wine; of course this to an orthodox Sunní is a great sin, so they are called Ráfizí, Moghlí, and other terms equivalent to Káfir. The inhabitants are much more free and easy than in Gilgit; the women do not hide themselves or their faces, they are all dark brown, but not black. Some few of Yassin and Chitral mixture are fairer than the rest, but the great heat of the summer keeps the colour quite brown. My cook quite beat by the march, did not give me my dinner till late, and as I lit my lamp, the young fry collected round me, and I shared my roast fowl with two boys who seemed very much to enjoy a change of food, and were the envy of all the others.

Two sepoys live here to collect toll, and tithes of all the produce in kind, money being a very scarce commodity. These men are to be found thus in pairs in all the villages of this country, they feed on the fat of the land, pay for nothing, and consequently are well hated. They assisted me to get

my coolies, so that I was able to start early, after giving out a few doses of medicine, the fact of being able to obtain medicine gratis has gone before me, it is the first thing I am asked for, and I have obtained the name of the Hakím Sáhíb. I wish I were better able to support the title, it was little I could do, my stock being very small. The narrow path between the high walls and hedges of the gardens took some time in traversing, but when clear of the village, I saw that the valley here is only about three-quarters of a mile wide, very barren looking, shut in with high bare hills. The path leads down to the nála which runs from the Hills to the south, past the small Fort of Shipyt. This has six bastions, and was built by the Dogras about twelve years ago on the occasion of the attack of Malik Amán and his brother Mír Walí from Yassin, 'Isá Bahádur defeated them by help from Gilgit.

The river runs close under the Fort. We now enter into the territories of Panyal proper under 'Isá Bahádur, the chief of Sher Kíl'a, or rather under his son, as 'Isá died lately. After crossing a long sandy flat, at least twenty feet above the ordinary level of the river, which has been known in high floods to cover it and do great damage to the surrounding countries, we ascended gently up to the village and Fort of Golapur, about five miles from Sherote. The village nestles under its cool green trees, and is famous for its grapes. About twenty houses are scattered over the slope.

I pitched in a garden of apple trees laden with fruit. The next garden, enclosed by a wall, belongs to Rájá Langar Khán, he was absent in Kashmír, having gone as a hostage for two years, leaving his family here. His little son, five years old, came to make his saláms and brought a basket of fruit. A faqír and his son, both very intelligent, came to have a chat. They only speak Persian and Yassini, and being Badakhshís, they were quite fair, with delicate features, they made their livelihood by doctoring and selling charms, and were quite glad to see a real Hakím as they thought. Their general remedies are opium, arsenic, sulphur, and mercury, which are used equally for all diseases. I gave them some quinine, which they had not seen before, also a very potent medicine in the shape of Worcester Sauce !!, a tea spoonful of which nearly choking them, gave them a great idea of the efficacy of my drugs.

Leaving Golapur next day, we came shortly in sight of Sher Kíl'a, a large fort and village surrounded by gardens and fields, on the opposite side or left bank of the river, situated on a long slope from the high hills which back it.

Our road led over tolerably level ground, and along a cliff above the river about 50 feet high, path very narrow, rocks of conglomerate and sandstone. The Fort has 13 towers and is the largest in Gilgit. The communication to this right bank is by a rope bridge of the usual shaky structure. Animals crossing have to be swum across, which is only possible when the river is low.

When we arrived opposite the Fort, I was met by the young and newly

made Rájá Akbar Khán, son of 'Tsá Bahádur, and his following. He is a heavy-featured lad of eighteen, and speaks little but his mother-tongue. After a short chat with his people and the Guard of Honor, supplied him from Gilgit, (in reality to overawe the rather turbulent population) I continued my march. The path then descends to the level of the river along a narrow ledge, the site of many a fight, opposite which is the village of Hammuchul on the left bank. The spur of Gaishéli with its steep climb brought us to the upland slope of Dalnath, with its bright sparkling stream allowed to run to waste, the village having been depopulated in one of the late wars and never been re-inhabited.

This fact of depopulation is the curse of this small but fertile valley. Situated between two powerful neighbours, Gilgit and Yassin, the unfortunate people have suffered from both sides, have been taken off *en masse*, either to populate Yassin or sold into slavery, a few finding refuge in the neighbouring states of Dareyl and Tangyr. After our midday meal under the shade of the willows which border the Dalnath stream, we wended our weary way over a bad rocky spur down again to the river, then up again over a hill side opposite to the nála which brings water from the high hills above, to the village of Japoké on the left bank; then continuing we reached Gitch, a small village, 8 miles from Golapur; then again by a level path over a stony uncultivated flat above the river, from which we began to ascend a narrow ledge of limestone rocks, with a very difficult bad road, hardly passable for ponies, but easily defended.

A second road leads up over the tops of the hills from Shere, so as to avoid this narrow ledge, and is the usual road taken by an hostile force from Yassin. At the highest point of this narrow ledge and high up over the river which rushes past its perpendicular base, is a flat stone under which a lookout is kept towards Yassin, to give warning to Sher Kíl'a, in case of trouble, which in Goraman's days was common enough. Opposite this place, on the left bank, is a small village of Dajipoker with its few corn fields. The path improves as the ledge of rocks becomes broader, and finally leads to Singul, a large village with extensive gardens and fields with a small fort for its defence. This was our halting-place, and while the camp was being pitched, I took a stroll into the fort. Conceive a space of 150 feet square, surrounded by 25 to 30 feet walls, without any space left as a court, but quite crowded by small irregular huts, some parts in two to three stories, communicating one with another by dark passages and notched logs of wood to ascend to the roofs; then imagine this crowded with men, women, and children, all their rags, cooking pots, agricultural implements, guns, dogs, and fowls, and a faint idea of the conditions under which they live can be obtained. The force of circumstances obliged them to crowd into forts in former days, but as Dogra rule has been paramount for at least twelve years, habit has still

the mastery, and sooner than live out, each on his own land, they still sleep at night inside their forts, collecting the cattle close under the walls in enclosures outside.

The stream which supplies this village flows down from the range of mountains that divide Dareyl from Gilgit, and along this nála come the wild inhabitants of those hills to seek a description of salt-earth for themselves and their goats, on vast flocks of which they principally subsist, agriculture being at the lowest ebb owing to the insecurity of life and property.

This village of Singul, where I stayed a week on my return from Gaokuch, waiting for an answer to a letter I had sent to the Kárdár for permission to explore the nála to the confines of Dareyl, (but to which he would not consent saying it was too dangerous) presents nothing to attract the traveller except its simplicity. I used to roam about the fields and gardens, which are well cultivated, producing maize, wheat, barley, beans, carrots, turnips, pumpkins, gourds used for carrying water, radishes, cucumbers, and garden stuff, as salads, spinach, capsicum, mint, fennel, pepper, one or two plants which yield dye, &c., &c.

The fruits in season were pomegranates, grapes of three sorts, figs, apples, mulberries, peaches, apricots, and walnuts, from the kernels of which they make oil, melons and a few cherries. All these fruits ripen towards the end of summer, so I used to feast daily on the best while chatting to the villagers at work, a quietly inclined people if let alone. No doubt with proper security for property, and no marauding sepoys allowed, the whole of Panyal would produce silk and grain more than enough to pay its expenses.

Iron is not found in the valley of Gilgit, coming mostly from Ladak and Kashmír, consequently there are few workmen. The utensils they use are mostly of a coarse soft green semi-transparent stone, called Baloshbut, or pot stone; these stand fire and are universally used throughout the surrounding countries. Bullet moulds are also cut out of the same material.

They do not consume much meat, being too poor, but live principally on coarse mixed flour, cakes, ghí and milk. Wine in large quantities is made, every large garden having its wine vats. The manufacture is of the simplest description. A trough four feet long by two broad and three feet deep, is constructed of large flat stones cemented with clay; at one side, near the bottom, is a hole, closed with a wooden plug covered with cloth. The grapes plucked in bunches by the women and children are carried in large baskets, of which the side next the back is flat; the grapes are thrown into the vat as they come from the garden, when heaped up a boy gets in and with naked feet treads it all into a mash; the plug is removed, and the juice flows off into a large hole in the ground immediately under. Here it remains covered up for a month or two, till fermentation is over, or till the owner has no further patience.

The hour fixed for the opening is a joyous one, young and old, men and women, assemble to take a little, and amidst a tumult of joyful acclamations and song, they bear away the precious liquid, and store it in their rooms in the fort. Having no pottery, being unacquainted with its manufacture, most of the liquid is drunk as soon as possible, and a little kept in skin bags and wooden bowls. The women never get drunk, the men often.

I was greatly troubled by sandflies at this place, which are worse in shady damp places, but in a dry spot they only appear at sunrise and sunset.

On marching from Singul, we first crossed the nála, at the mouth of which it is situated, by a rope bridge. Large quantities of fish were observed lying quietly at the bottom, no one troubling them by net or line.* A guard remains here on the lookout for armed Dareyl robbers, who come down the nála on marauding expeditions.

A dam of stones turns off the stream from washing away the fort. The road leads along the flat and high bank on which there is no cultivation, being covered with boulders detached by earthquakes from the granite rocks above; these are of no rare occurrence, I saw a case of a large fall of rocks and earth close to the Fort at Gilgit during a slight shock we had. A couple of miles brought us to the village of Gulmutti, opposite which is the large Fort and village of Bubbur.† The influence of the Rájá of Gaokuch commences here, as they give tithes to him as well as to Sher Kil'a. Changing coolies at the fort of Gulmutti, where they brought me a large present of grapes and melons, we continued along close to the river opposite the small cultivation of Barjur, a hamlet of Bubbur; the road thence ascends a high spur, called Singdas, which shuts in the river, to a small gorge through which it rushes with great violence.

As I was toiling up on foot, the path very steep and bad, the sun very powerful, I was met by the Rájá of Gaokuch with his 'rikáb', or following. Mutually rushing into each other's embrace, and anxiously enquiring after one another's health and welfare, we continued our course, dipping down to the river again, where under the shade of a few tamarisk bushes, he made me eat a fine melon and smoke the Calmet of Peace. 'Afiat Khán is a thick set, dark, middle-sized man of common-place appearance, about forty years of age. He was mounted on a good young pony 13·2 hands high, of his own breeding, carrying him well over the bad slippery rocks; finally we ascended the side of the plateau on which Gaokuch stands. The fort and village are situated about two miles further on; no vegetation on this plain till we reached the village. The whole valley is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles broad, but as we have been gradually ascending the whole way from Gilgit,

* Otters also abound. The people catch fish by small conical baskets fixed into the end of a dam across the stream.

† A small colony of Sayyids make it of some importance.

the surrounding hills, quite bare, are not so high as lower down. The Singdas spur divides Panyal from Gaokuch. As we approached the Fort, the distant snow-covered hills of Yassin and Pamir came into view. On coming up to the fort, the Dogra sepoy who guard the district, formed up and presented arms to us, a motley group armed with flint-lock smooth bore muskets. My encamping ground, on this 29th July, was a level of green sward, fringed with willow trees, a delightful contrast to the bare rocks and glare of the last few days' journey. Here I was at the end of civilization, and truly glad to have arrived at the object of my desires. The Gaokuch plateau is bounded to the north by high rocky hillocks which descend precipitously to the river. The Fort is built on a large rock, the sketch was taken from the top of one of those overlooking the river, on the top of which I disturbed a flock of urial, or wild sheep.

The whole valley is about two miles broad, of which the plateau takes up $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile, the river and some uncultivated strips on the opposite bank, the rest. This is the 'ultima Thule' of India, or rather of the influence of British Rule. Just beyond Gaokuch, and divided from it by a deep ravine, commence the fields of the extreme frontier village of Aish, and beyond, about four miles, comes the frontier of Yassin. From both sides of the border a strict watch is kept on the opposite party, no one being allowed to pass without a messenger from either Chief accompanying him. I went with the Rájá to the furthest point possible, and there we found two lads of sixteen, keeping a sharp lookout, their matchlocks resting against the rocks close by, and if we had attempted to go further, the Yassins, though we could not see them, would have been sure to have taken a shot at us.

Below us was an expanse of river bed about half a mile broad, without a living creature, or fish or fowl being visible. Opposite was the valley of Karambar winding away into the distance, little known or used, and down it was rushing a broad stream of dirty water direct from the snowy heights of the Pamir. It forms its junction with the stream from Yassin at this point, meeting at about right angles. The two streams create a great commotion, when, as now, the snows are melting, filling the whole bed with a shallow flood.*

On returning to Aish and its fields of golden grain and shady groves, I found under a clump of fine trees a repast laid out in true native style: a basket of hot chapátis baked like "nán", another with a large bowl of fresh curds in which was a wooden spoon. Spreading blankets we all sat down, and had our share of bread with a slice of raw cucumber and salt handed to each of us, the curds were placed in the middle of the party, and

* At the head of the Karambar is a lake formed by a glacier, which dams up the valley; when the lake gets too full and heavy, the dam breaks, causing the fearful rush of water which makes the Indus flood.

as each required so he took a spoonful; in this way we soon finished the first course—after which came some beautiful ripe melons, long in shape with smooth green skins, some with green, others with yellow, flesh; they were cut up in long slices and distributed. The third and final course was a large pannier of apricots, for which fruit the place is famed. I got up after all was over, feeling I should require no more food for a week; then I distributed some tobacco, and took, myself, forty whiffs. The whole proceeding was most picturesque, the place, the men, &c., &c. I shall long remember the scene and our conversation, which was mostly on the history of the place and its people. I remained at Gaokuch four days, strolling about and enjoying the delightful climate. The elevation is about 6,800 feet. The sun at noon is powerful, but more endurable than at Simla or Murree. The water which irrigates the plateau descends from a spring high up a valley to the south, at the head of which valley is the range of mountains which divides Yassin, Tangyr, and Gaokuch. The supply sometimes fails in dry seasons, there being no glaciers on the south side to feed the stream.

The people dress like their neighbours in coloured páijámas, white cotton kurtas worked over the front with a patchwork of coloured cloth; the caps are either the Yassin kuláhs, or else the bag cap used by all the Gilgitís or Botés. Just below on the river's edge is a small patch of soil, from which they extract salt by boiling the earth in water.

Tobacco, salt, and iron, are the three articles of which these countries are most in want. If an iron mine were to be discovered, as no doubt it will be some day, the status of the whole people would be raised thereby, and a great impetus be given to the industries of a naturally hard-working people.

Faírs and pírs, or saints, both beg and rob the people. I saw a case of a fine strong faqir with five muríds, chelás or disciples, who used to go about sometimes mounted, at other times on foot, and beg all they could, and occasionally, if they found an opportunity, would take by force food, clothing, ponies, goats, fowls, &c., giving in exchange *ta'wíz*, or charms, against illness, the evil eye, ill-luck, and love charms.

One peculiarity in the dress of these people is the use of the brooch. It is made of different sizes and shapes, but generally a ring with a needle attached to one side. Ivory, mother-o'-pearl, brass, and silver, are used in their construction. Both sexes wear them, the women to fasten their chogas together, the men to hang on their charms. It is curious to see these charms sewn up in little bags, dangling from whatever part of the body they are supposed to affect, head, shoulders, arms, &c. Although saltpetre is universally found, they do not understand how to purify it. Sulphur is found in Nagyr and Hunza, and is sold in round cakes by weight. Gunpowder is made by all who have guns, in their own houses, by their own hands, no regular manufacturer makes it

exclusively. It is of a very weak description, about four times our English charges being put into the gun, *viz.*, 10 drams of theirs to $2\frac{1}{2}$ of mine. The proportions used are as followed: Nitre, 5 parts; sulphur $\frac{1}{2}$ part; charcoal 1 part = $6\frac{1}{2}$ parts.

During summer all the ponies and cattle are sent up to the grazing grounds in the Hills, but in winter, which is long and severe, all animals are housed, fodder being collected during the autumn for their use, grass and the leaves of most trees.

Donkeys have lately been introduced in Gilgit and Panyal. The Dogra Force, which attacked and massacred the people of Yassin in 1863, brought down several with them. They are small, quite black, without the usual stripe down the back and shoulders, but have a white nose; they are used in the gardens for carrying loads of earth, manure, or in harvesting crops, but are not ridden.

All the cloth, iron, drugs, &c., which find their way into the Gilgit valley are brought up by the Koli and Palas men from the unknown banks of the Indus, which river runs through Yagistán, or Independent territory, from Ráwal Pindí in the Panjáb *viâ* Koli through Chilas. The loads are of 60 lbs. each, carried throughout by men, who are paid 30 Kashmír chilkís, of 8 annas each, for the trip up to Gilgit. Little or no merchandise reaches these parts through Kashmír, owing to the excessive taxation and bad roads.

I returned to Srinagar by the main road through Gurais and the Kumrí Pír Pass, having had very little sport, though the country is full of it, owing to the season being too late for shooting.

I can recommend Gilgit as a field for sportsmen, especially if they take no Kashmíri shikáris, as the latter spoil the whole country and are quite unnecessary, the Gilgitís being keen shikáris themselves.

*On the Ghalchah Languages (Wakhí and Sarikolí).—By R. B. SHAW,
Political Agent, late on special duty at Káshghar.*

The dialects of which a brief sketch is here given, are spoken in valleys which descend to the east and west respectively from the Pamir plateau. They are members of a group of kindred dialects which prevail about the head waters of the Oxus; the *Sarikolí* being the only one of them whose home is on the east of Pamir, on one of the affluents of the Yárkand river. The inhabitants of Koláb, Macha, Karátigín, Darwáz, Roshán, Shighnán, Wakhán, Badakhshán, Zeibak or Sanglich, Minján, &c., (see maps) are all classed by their Turkí neighbours under the general designation of GHALCHAH; they are mostly Shí'ah Musalmáns, and speak either Persian or other kindred dialects. "Such evidence as we have, confirmed by the general report of the nations round, ascribes (to them) a Tájik (*i. e.*, an Iranian) origin."* Now the Tájiks form the substratum of population all over Western Turkistán, where, as well as in Persia, the Iranians are intermixed with and dominated over by Turkish tribes. To us, the Tájiks represent the earliest inhabitants of the regions occupied by them, for the Turanians now settled there are of later introduction; and no recognisable trace of any pre-Aryan population is to be found there.

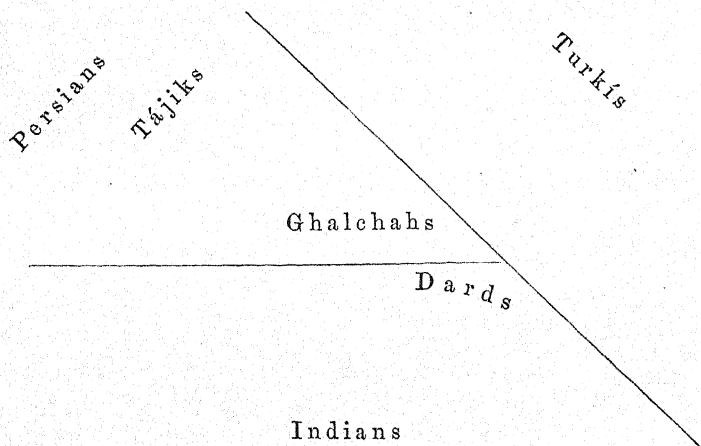
The Tájiks of the plains speak their own form of Persian, differing merely in pronunciation and in a few peculiarities from the language of Irán. The Badakhshís are said to have only adopted that language within the last few centuries, having formerly spoken a dialect of their own, probably a mere *patois* of Persian whose peculiarities gradually gave way before a freer intercourse with their neighbouring kindred.

There remain the more secluded tribes of the higher valleys, south and east of Badakhshán, also of Aryan race and of the Persic branch. A glance at their vocabularies will prove this: but in order to show that these dialects are not mere offshoots or corruptions of modern Persian (notwithstanding the numbers of Persian words which they have adopted), I have collected a list of words which seem to have a closer connection with the early eastern form of Persian, Zend, and even with other Aryan tongues.†

* Wood's Oxus, ed. 1872. Col. Yule's Essay, p. xxiii.

† Thus the Zend *maidhyána* can never have passed through the Persian form *miyán*, to make the Ghalchah word *madhán* (middle). Nor the Zend syllable *raésa* have had its two vowels *a é* blended into one in the Persian word *rësh* on its way to the Ghalchah form *reghish* (beard). The Gh. *müi* is derived from Zend *maésa* in a different way from the Persian *mesh* (sheep), not through it. See Comparative List of Words.

History tells us nothing of their arrival in their present seats, nor whence they came. Their own traditions, as far as we know, are equally silent; but perhaps their language may afford some indications. With this view it is necessary to consider their geographical position. If a line be drawn transversely across the paper from the upper left hand corner towards



the lower right hand corner, this will represent a portion of the Himálaya-Pamír water-parting. If then on the left of this we draw a horizontal line falling on the former at an angle, we shall have a rough representation of the Hindú-Kush water-parting in its relation to the other. The tribes which we are considering live in the acute angle north of the Hindú-Kush spur; while in the obtuse angle which forms its supplement dwells another group of tribes called the *Dards*. Beyond the Pamir mountains live the Turkís of Káshgharia.

With the latter of course the Ghalchahs have no connection of speech. And, if they were simply the foremost tribes of an eastward migration of the Persic race we should expect their language to have no closer radical connection with that of their other neighbours, the Dards, than that of their supposed parents the Persians or Tájiks has. There might have been an interchange of words during the centuries that they have dwelt in one another's neighbourhood; but grammatical connection can only exist where there is previous linguistic affinity and (roughly) in proportion to its closeness.

If, moreover, the Dards were similarly an offshoot from the Hindu race (sent up into the mountains after the settlement of the latter in India), then as we know that the tongues of Persians and Hindus have diverged from a common original, each successive offshoot from either would probably get further and further apart in point of language. As Persian and Hindí

are sisters, Ghalchah and Dardu would then be cousins, and we should expect to find this more distant relationship typified in their speech.

It is therefore interesting to compare the Ghalchah with the Dard dialects. Isolated words may creep into a language at any time, especially when new ideas or inventions reach a rude people from a more civilized one. It will be seen, however, from a list which I have collected, that the words which resemble one another in Ghalchah and Dardu convey the most simple and fundamental ideas. But it is to a comparison of grammatical forms that we must look for a measurement of the degree of affinity that exists between them.

First, with regard to the declension of the Noun. Here the Ghalchah dialects are almost bare of inflection, the cases being chiefly marked by separable pre-positions and post-positions. But the one termination of an oblique case which is not so separable (in the Wakhí dialect), occurs also as a Dardu inflection. In the Wakhí Instrumentative and Ablative cases, the termination *an* is used in addition to the appropriate preposition; as in Latin (e. g. *cum viro*). There is also a Genitive absolute with the same termination, which may possibly be a relic of its general use for the Genitive case, e. g., *zúi-an*, mine, *Mír-an*, "the king's."

Now, taking Dr. Leitner's work as the most complete account we have of the *Dardu* dialects, we find in the *Arniya* form (or that spoken in the valleys adjoining Wakhán on the south of the Hindú-Kush water-parting), the same termination *an* used for all the oblique cases of the Plural. It is not used in the Singular, but still it is distinct from the proper termination of the Plural, as will be seen below.

GHALCHAH (Wakhí).	ENGLISH.	DARDU (Arniya).
Nom. S. <i>mír</i>	a king	Nom. S. <i>mitèr</i> .
Nom. Pl. <i>mírisht</i>	kings	Nom. Pl. <i>mitèrann</i> .
Gen. „ <i>mírav (AN)</i>	of kings	Gen. „ <i>miteránAN</i> .
Dat. „ <i>mírav-ar</i>	to kings	Dat. „ <i>miteranan-té</i> .
Acc. „ <i>mírav</i>	kings	Acc. „ <i>miteranan</i> .
Instr. „ <i>da míravAN</i>	with or by kings	Instr. „ <i>miteranan-somega</i> .
Abl. „ <i>sa míravAN</i>	from kings	Abl. „ <i>miteranan-sar</i> .

It will be seen that the Dardu noun has preserved the termination *an* in other oblique cases where it has been lost or has never existed in Wakhí; on the other hand the Wakhí has got it in the Singular as well as in the Plural. The fact of the Plural affix in Arniya being also *an* (as *av* is in Wakhí) need make no confusion; but for clearness' sake I also give the plural of a Pronoun where this possible ambiguity does not exist.

GHALCHAH (Wakhí).	ENGLISH.	DARDU (Arniya).
Nom. Pl. <i>yàisht</i>	they	<i>hami</i>
Gen. „ <i>yāv</i> (AN)	of them	<i>hamitAN</i>
Dat. „ <i>yā'-ar</i>	to them	<i>hamitAN-te</i>
Instr. „ <i>da yāvAN</i>	by them	<i>hamitAN-nase</i>
Abl. „ <i>sa yāvAN</i>	from them	<i>hamitAN-sar</i>

Where the *t* would seem to be merely euphonic to save the meeting of two vowels.

Thus in both languages the termination *an* has become a merely formal one for some or all of the oblique cases, but requiring to be re-inforced by prepositions or postpositions. It was probably once significative, and may have been the mark of some primitive case which did duty for all the various objective relations of nouns, until a want was felt for greater precision which was attained by superposing special affixes and prefixes.*

Passing on from this general oblique inflection to the particular cases, we find that the *Genitive* in the Ghalchah dialect under notice is formed merely by the apposition of the noun (in its oblique form if any) to another noun. In some of the Dardu dialects the same seems to be the rule, though others have a special genitive form :

ARNIYA.	ENGLISH.	ARNIYA.	ENGLISH.
Nom. <i>sorum</i>	gold	<i>miter</i>	a king.
Obl. <i>sormo</i> { <i>-te</i> to } gold		<i>mitaru</i> { <i>-te</i> to } a king	
		{ <i>-sar</i> from }	{ <i>-sar</i> from }
Gen. <i>sormo</i>	of gold	<i>mitaru</i>	of a king.

ARNIYA.	ENGLISH.	KHAJUNA.
Nom. <i>miteránn</i>	kings	<i>thamó.</i>
Obl. <i>miteranan</i> { <i>-te</i> <i>-somega</i> <i>-sar</i>	to with } kings (also Acc.) from }	<i>thamó</i> { <i>-r</i> <i>-kath</i> <i>-tzum</i>
Gen. <i>miteranann</i>	of kings	<i>thamó</i>

Nom. <i>host</i>	a hand
Obl. <i>hosto</i> (Acc. and Abl.)	{ a hand from a hand }
Gen. <i>hosto</i>	of a hand

KALASHA.	ENGLISH.	KALASHA.	ENGLISH.
Nom. <i>sha</i>	a king	<i>motsh</i>	a man
Obl. <i>sháas</i> (Dat. to (or from) a		<i>motshes</i> (Dat. and to (or from) a	
and Abl.) king		Abl.) man	
Gen. <i>sháas</i>	of a king	<i>motshes</i>	of a man.

So also with the Pronouns.

* Prof. M. Müller shows that several genitives and datives were originally locatives

ARNIYA.

Nom. <i>arwá</i>	I	<i>tu</i>	thou	<i>hé</i>	he
Obl. <i>ma</i> { -te to -nase by -sar from	me	<i>ta</i> { -te to -nase by -sar from	thee	<i>ha-</i> { to -nase by -sar from	him
Gen. <i>ma</i>	of me	<i>ta</i>	of thee	<i>hato</i>	of him

In all these, it will be seen, the Genitive is merely the oblique form stripped of the special affixes or prefixes of other cases. It is the same in the Ghalchah dialects; compare the following pronouns of Sariḳolí which possess separate oblique forms:

SARIḲOLÍ.

Nom. <i>waz</i>	I	<i>táo</i>	thou	<i>yü</i>	he
Obl. <i>mu</i> { -ar to -its by -ḡc. ḡc.	me	<i>tü</i> { -ar to -its by -ḡc. ḡc.	thee	<i>wi</i> { -ar to -its by -ḡc. ḡc.	him
Gen. <i>mu</i>	of me	<i>tü</i>	of thee	<i>wi</i>	of him

But the rule holds good throughout, even when, as in the case of substantives, the (singular) oblique cases have no form distinct from the nominative.

The *Dative* in the Ghalchah dialects is formed by the post-position *ar* or *ir*. This also occurs in one of the Dardu dialects, the Khajuna. Compare:

GHALCHAH (Wakhi and Sariḳolí). DARDU (Khajuna). ENGLISH.

Nom. Sing. <i>mír</i>	میر	<i>thám</i>	تهم	a king
Dat. „ <i>mír-AR</i>		<i>thám-ER</i>		to a king
Nom. Pl. <i>mírav</i>	میرو	<i>thámó</i>	تهمو	kings
Dat. „ <i>mírav-AR</i>	میرور	<i>thámó-'R*</i>	تهمور	to kings

So also the Khajuna Pronouns:

Nom. <i>gyé</i>	I	<i>umm</i>	thou	<i>in</i>	he
Dat. <i>gyár</i>	to me	<i>umár</i>	to thee	<i>inner</i>	to him
Nom. <i>mi</i>	we	<i>uwé</i>	they		
Dat. <i>mimár</i>	to us	<i>uwerr</i>	to them		

The *Accusative* in the Dard dialects has no appropriate termination or affix, but consists of the bare noun either in its nominative or its oblique

in Greek, Latin, French, &c., and quotes in a foot note the statement that 'the Algonquins have but one case, which may be called locative.' Lectures in the Science of Language, vol. I, pp. 250. Ed. 1866.

* In Dr. Leitner's work this stands as *thanór*, but the *n* is probably a misprint for *m*.

form. So also in Ghalchah (Wakhí) for this case the noun is often used without any special mark, though occasionally the syllable *a* is either prefixed or affixed.

The *Ablative* and *Instrumental* cases have been already mentioned. The inflectional termination is the same for both groups. The only post-positions or pre-positions in these cases that can be compared are: *kattí* in Sarikolí, and *kath* in Khajuna, meaning *with*, and perhaps *sa* (or *tsa*) in Wakhí with the Khajuna *tzum*, meaning *from*.

We now come to the VERB. The two forms of the *Infinitive* (*oki* and *ono*) in the Shina (Dard) dialects, appear to correspond with the two forms in Wakhí (*ak* and *an* or *in*), which, however, have lost the final vowel.

INFINITIVES.

ENGLISH.	DARDU.		GHALCHAH.
	Gilgití.	Astorí.	Wakhí.
to die .....	...	<i>miri-ÓNO</i>	<i>mará-IN</i>
to say or tell	<i>ray-OKI</i>	...	<i>khan-ÁK</i>
to cook .....	...	<i>paj-ÓNO</i>	<i>pöch-AN</i>
to do	<i>toki</i>	...	<i>khÁK</i>

The Kalasha form of Dardu also has an Infinitive resembling that of the Wakhí in *ak*, e. g. *on-ik* "to bring", *dek* "to give", *jagá-ik* "to see", *kar-ik* "to do", *mond-ek* "to say, &c.

The Infinitive in Dardu seems to be declined as a verbal noun, as in the Ghalchah dialects, e. g. *toki djo* "from doing".

The whole of the inflectional part of the Ghalchah *Verb-conjugation* is effected by means of two sets of personal terminations, of which one set is used for the Future Present, and the other for the Past Tenses. The former set may be thus compared with the terminations of the same Tense in the Dardu (Shina):

ENGLISH.	DARDU.		GHALCHAH.
	Shina.	Wakhí.	Sarikolí.
I go or will go...	<i>mu boy-UM</i>	<i>waz rach-AM</i>	<i>waz só-'M</i>
thou &c.	<i>tu boy-E</i>	<i>tu rach-I</i>	<i>táo só</i>
he &c.	<i>jo boye</i> or <i>boyey</i>	<i>yáo rach-d</i>	<i>yü sau-d</i>
we &c.	<i>be boy-ON</i> or <i>bôn</i>	<i>sak rach-AN</i>	<i>másh só-'N</i>
ye &c.	<i>tzo boy-ET</i>	<i>sáisht rach-IT</i>	<i>tamásh só-ID</i>
they &c.	<i>je boy-IN</i> or <i>boy-EN</i>	<i>yáisht rach-AN</i>	<i>wodh só-IN</i>

This remarkable similarity between the personal terminations of the Future-Present Tense in the two groups of dialects, does not extend to the

other set of terminations (those of the Past Tenses) which are very peculiar in Wakhí and Sariḳolí.

Thus, to sum up, we have discovered similarities between the two groups of dialects, as regards the noun declension ; 1st in the mode of expressing the Genitive (by simple apposition), 2nd the Dative (by the affix *ar, er*), 3rd the Accusative (a negative resemblance), 4th the Instrumental and Ablative (by means of a termination *an* in addition to the appropriate pre- or post-positions, which themselves are in two instances alike). The Nominative can afford no evidence either way. Only in the remaining prepositions and post-positions used with the cases can no resemblance be traced, as well as in the special terminations which give a plural sense. Thus by far the greater part of the noun declension in Ghalchah has parallels amongst the Dardu dialects.

Again in the conjugation of the verb, we have seen that 5 out of the 6 personal terminations of the Future Present Tense are similar in Dardu (Shina) and in Ghalchah ; while the Wakhí Infinitive meets with a pretty close parallel in Kalasha (Dardu), and both its forms seems to be the same as those of the Shina (Dard) dialect, merely dropping the final vowel of these.

The resemblances therefore cover pretty nearly half the inflections of the Wakhí verb ; and the differences occur in the remaining set of personal terminations (used for the Past Tenses), as also in the Participles.

The resemblances in the vocabulary represent the most simple and organic ideas (see Comparative Table).

This radical similarity between the Ghalchah and the Dardu groups of languages, so far as it goes would seem to show that the present local connection of these two groups cannot be the result of movements starting from opposite quarters and meeting accidentally in the present homes of the tribes in question. If Ghalchahs and Dards were offshoots detached respectively from the Persic and Indic races at a period when the languages of those two races had already assumed their present distinct types, they could scarcely, in their isolated valleys, severed from one another by snowy ranges, have worked back their dialects in the direction of primitive unity. This would have been reversing the natural course of events.

We must therefore suppose that the ancestors of the Ghalchahs and Dards at one time lived together and spoke much the same language, although their dialects have since diverged ; and although that divergence is precisely of such a nature as to bring one group into the Persic class and the other into the Indic, notwithstanding a strong mutual resemblance. The water-parting of the Hindú-Kush range which divides Ghalchahs from Dards, also forms the speech-parting between the Persic and Indic tongues ; and the long valleys on the south of that range contain a trail of Aryans pointing

as plainly towards India, as those on the north do towards that greater Persia which comprises all Persian-speaking races from the Jaxartes to the mountains of Kurdistan.

But further, as the discovery, in undisturbed soil, of a skeleton with all its parts lying together in their proper relative positions, proves to the geologist that the body of which it is the remains must have been deposited there at, or soon after, death, and consequently that the habitat of the living animal must have been near; similarly the present position of the Dard and Ghalchah tribes on either flank of the speech-parting Range of Hindú-Kush,—bound together by dialectic ties, and yet attached also in the same way to the neighbouring nations, the Persic limb lying towards the Persian side, the Indic limb towards the Indian side,—would seem to shew that the early home of their unity cannot have been far off. Had they divided asunder in some distant land, what probability was there of their coming together again in one locality, and of their finally taking up relative positions precisely corresponding with their respective linguistic affinities?

The connection of the Ghalchah hill-tribes with the Badakhshis and of these again with the Tájiks or Iranian population of Central Asia, is so plain that it is recognised by all the natives of those regions. On the other hand the Dards, whose languages are classed as decidedly Indian or Sanskritic by Dr. Leitner, extend from the axis of the Hindú-Kush Range down to and across the Indus. In the valleys of Guraiz and Tilél they overlap or intermingle with the Kashmíri race, from which again an unbroken chain of dialects has been traced out by Mr. Drew* through the outer Himálaya valleys, connecting by a gradual passage the Kashmíri with the Hindí spoken in the plains of India.

It is not alone in the extreme eastern section of the Hindú-Kush that a speech-parting of the kind described above exists. If, as is probable, the Siahpòsh Káfirs are merely unconverted Dards, they are matched on the north by the Ghalchah inhabitants of the valleys of Mínján, Sanglich, &c., and the linguistic water-parting coincides with the geographical one, at least as far west as the Khawák Pass above Kábul.

Thus in the same way that, *philologically*, the Indian and Persian tongues have been traced back through ancient writings into such mutually resembling forms of speech as to imply original 'unity; so, *geographically*, we can at the present day follow up from either end a chain of Indic and Persic tribes until we find the last links of each fixed close together on the flanks of the Hindú-Kush Range, and connected with one another by linguistic ties.

Whether this distribution is of so early a date as to indicate the line of the original migrations of the Aryans on their way to India I leave to

* See his "Jummu and Kashmir", p. 467.

abler heads to determine ; but it seems probable that the separation of the Dards from the Ghalchahs took place at a time when there still existed a spoken tongue neither distinctly Indian nor distinctly Persian but containing the germs of both. If the Dardu immigration from the north had been a late one, (say at the time of the Yuéchi or of the Musalmán invasions) at a time when the language spoken in the plains of Bactria had become almost as strongly differentiated from that of India as at the present day,—it is not easy to see how the speech of the Dards could have taken its development on Indian lines, as it has done ; and *vice versâ*. The fact of the tongues under notice still retaining so much mutual resemblance, together with a local connection, would imply that they were descended directly from one and the same mother ; while the fact of their belonging to the opposite families shows that we must not seek their common parentage either in the Indian or in the Persian tongue, but in an early Indo-Iranian mother dialect, which alone would be capable of giving birth to two such children from the same womb. To put the matter in other words, it would seem that the Ghalchah and Dard nations must have lived each a life of its own, distinct from that of any other branches of the Aryan race and changing less fast than they, ever since they emerged from the oneness of the Indo-Iranian stem. They are true sisters, and yet they belong to rival families. Hence they must be of that generation in which the split occurred. In any lower generation they would either not be sisters, or, if they were, they would belong to the same branch of the family. No Spanish Bourbon has been brother to a French Bourbon since the generation in which the distinction first arose.

Again, if the Dards were admitted to have come down across the Hindú-Kush in those early days, but the Kashmírí and outer Himálayan populations were supposed to be a reflex wave of migration sent up by the Indo-Aryans after their arrival and settlement in India, what a gap we ought to have between the dialects of the Dards and those of these later comers into their neighbourhood, a gap representing the whole progress in language made between the time when the Indo-Aryans were still a mere Central Asian tribe with incipient peculiarities of speech, and that when, their great migration accomplished, they were in possession of their Sanskrit form of language. A gap certainly does appear to exist, but I am not able to judge whether it is a sufficiently broad one, or whether later inquiries may not fill it up as the gap between Kashmírí and Panjábí has been filled by Mr. Drew's researches.

Max Müller tells us : “ Before the ancestors of the Indians and Persians started for the South, and the leaders of the Greek, Roman, Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavonic colonies marched towards the shores of Europe, there was a small clan of Aryans settled probably on the highest elevation of

Central Asia [the Western slopes of the Belortagh (Pamir), near the sources of Oxus and Jaxartes.] After this clan broke up, the ancestors of the Indians and Zoroastrians must have remained for some time together in their migrations or new settlements." [Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language*, Vol. I, pp. 238. Ed. 1866.]

Perhaps to this we may hereafter be able to add something like the following:

After a long settlement in and about fertile Badakhshán (during which slight differences of speech sprung up between south and north), the further disruption took place. The southern section of the Indo-Iranian clan poured over the Hindú-Kush water-shed by successive waves into the long valleys of the Kunér, Panjkorah and Gilgit rivers (perhaps also of others further west) which lead down towards the Indus. Arrived in the broad plains of the Panjáb, where the conditions were favourable to expansion, they increased in numbers and civilization, developing out of the dialect which they had brought with them the rich structure of Sanskrit. The northern section of the clan, left behind in Badakhshán and increasing in their turn, expanded westward and northward, and also closed up behind their departing brethren into the valleys on their own side of the Hindú-Kush, pushing the hindmost of the Indo-Aryans across into the heads of the valleys on the south. In the plains of Bactria and of Irán the dialectic differences which had perhaps begun to exist before the departure of their southern kinsmen, developed into Zend and early Persian; while those fragments of either branch which were left high and dry in the valleys on both sides of the Hindú-Kush, isolated from the main bodies of the Persians and Indians respectively, were less affected by the linguistic tendencies of their more civilized and numerous brethren; their speech changed in a less rapid ratio, and moreover they had been the latest to divide asunder; and thus their dialects retain to the present day a much closer mutual resemblance than do the languages of the two great nations whose ancestors once dwelt with theirs. As the forefathers of the Indian and Persian races remained longest together of all the Indo-European tribes, and their languages show consequently the closest mutual affinities of all the great divisions of the Aryan family; so also among the minor tribes of those two sister races, the Ghalchahs and Dards appear to have remained together longer than the rest of their kindred, and their dialects consequently show greater coincidences than any other two which can be picked from both sides of the border between Indian and Persian speech.

The Sounds

And their Representations.

The dialects of Sariḳol and Wakhán are not found in a written form. They exist only as spoken by the people. For all literary purposes Persian is used by those who have sufficient education to know how to read and write.

Many of the sounds in the spoken dialects of Sariḳol and Wakhán are different from any that can be expressed by the ordinary Arabic letters. To employ these in representing Sariḳolí and Wakhí words, it would be necessary to adopt a considerable number of conventional signs. As this may be just as accurately done with Roman characters, I shall confine myself to the latter in the following pages, instead of forming an adapted alphabet for this purpose.

The accented *ā* will be used for the Central Asian broad sound resembling that of *aw* in the word *pawn*.

The *à* (with a grave accent) will represent the Italian sound as in *farà*.

The unaccented *a*, for the short oriental sound as in 'America', 'woman', 'oriental,' 'ordinary,' &c.

The vowel *e*, for its sound in the English word *then*.

The same accented, *è*, will rhyme with the English word *may*.

Unaccented *i* as in *him*.

Accented *í* or *î* as in *machine*.

Unaccented *o*, as in the German word *Gott*.

Accented *ó* or *ô*, as in English *go*.

Dotted *ö*, as in German *schön*.

Unaccented *u*, as in German *hund*.

Accented *ú* or *û*, as in English *rumour*.

Dotted *ü*, as in German, *mühe*.

Diphthong *ai* as in *mitraille*; *ei* as *réveille*; *au* and *ao* pretty nearly as in German *frau* and English *now*.

The ordinary consonants need not be separately mentioned. The following forms however require description:

The compound *th* represents the hard sound of the English *th* in the word *thing*.

The compound *dh* represents its soft sound in the word *the*.

The accented *z* represents the French sound of the consonant in *je*, or the *z* in the English word *azure*.

Sh is to be pronounced as in English (same as French *ch* in *chose*, or German *sch* in *schön*).

Ch as in English (represented in French by *teh*, and in German by *tsch*).

The ADJECTIVE is not inflected. It precedes the Substantive.

An adjective can be formed from a substantive by the addition of the termination *üng* or *üing*. Ex. *rwár-üng* "belonging to a day", "daily".

THE PRONOUN.

The Personal and Substantival Pronouns are declined as follows:—

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
		1st.	
Nom.	<i>wuz</i> I	<i>sak, sakisht</i>	we
Gen.	<i>zü, züi</i> my, of me	<i>spá</i>	our, of us
Dat.	<i>mar</i> to me	<i>sak-ar</i>	to us
Acc.	<i>maz, amaz</i> ... me	<i>sak, sak-a</i>	us
Loc.	<i>—maz</i> (at, in) me	<i>—sak</i>	(at, in) us
Instr.	} <i>maz-an</i> ... (from, with) me	<i>—sak-an</i>	(from, with) us
Abl.			
		2nd.	
Nom.	<i>tu</i> thou	<i>säisht</i>	ye
Gen.	<i>ti</i> thy, if thee	<i>sav</i>	your, of you
Dat.	<i>tar</i> to thee	<i>sav-ar</i>	to you
Acc.	<i>tao, a-tao</i> thee	<i>sav, sav-a</i>	you
Loc.	<i>—tao</i> (at, in) thee	<i>—sav</i>	(at, in) you
Instr.	} <i>—tao-an</i> (from, with) thee	<i>—sav-an</i>	(from, with) you
Abl.			
		3rd.	
Nom.	<i>yao</i> he or that	<i>yaisht</i>	they
Gen.	<i>yao</i> of him	<i>yav</i>	of them
Dat.	<i>yao-ar, yaor, yâr</i> to him	<i>yav-ar, yaisht-ar</i>	to them
Acc.	<i>yao, a-yao</i> him	<i>yáv</i>	them
Loc.	{ <i>—yao</i> (at, in) him	<i>—yáv</i>	(at, in) them
	{ <i>sikao</i> * on him		
Abl.	<i>sánan</i> ...* from him	<i>yá'n, —yáv-an</i>	(from) them
	<i>—yá'n</i>		

REFLECTIVE PRONOUN.

(Singular and Plural.)

Nom.	<i>khat</i>	he himself, she herself, &c.
Gen.	<i>khü</i>	of himself, &c. ; his, her or its own
Dat.	<i>khat-ar</i>	to himself, &c.
Acc.	<i>khat</i>	himself, &c.
Loc.	<i>—khat</i>	(at, in) himself, &c.
Instr.	} <i>—khat-an</i>	(from, with) himself, &c.
Abl.		

* Here the preposition is incorporated with the pronoun (*sikao* for *sak-yao*, *sánan* for *sa yáo-an*).

ADJECTIVAL PRONOUNS.

(Singular and Plural.)

Nom.	<i>yem</i>	this or his	<i>yà</i>	that
Gen.	<i>yem</i>	of this or his	<i>yà</i>	of that
Dat.	{ <i>aram</i> ,* <i>dram</i> or <i>tram</i> or <i>yem</i> — <i>ar</i> }		to this or his	<i>drà</i> or <i>yà</i> — <i>ar</i> ...to that
Acc.	<i>yem</i>	this or his	<i>yà</i>	that
Loc.	{ <i>dam</i> * or <i>tam</i>		at, in, &c.,	
	{ <i>sakam</i> *		on, on ac- count of, &c., this or his	
		this or his	<i>dà</i>	at, in &c. that
		on, on ac- count of, &c., this or his	<i>sakao</i>	on, on account of &c. that
Instr.	{ <i>tsaman</i> * or <i>saman</i> from this		<i>tsanan</i> or <i>sanan</i>	from that
Abl.	{ or <i>sam</i> — <i>an</i> ...from his		(<i>tsa-yan</i>)	

EMPHATIC : *ha-yem* "this very", *ha-ya* "that very".Other pronouns, such as *chiz* "what" ? *koï* "who" ? *tsum* "some", *imân* "one-another", &c., are declined, when necessary, as substantives.[Genitive absolute : *zui-AN i' charkh* = a wheel of mine ; *yao-AN i' maina* = a talking bird of his.]

There is moreover a set of personal terminations to the Past, Perfect, and Pluperfect tenses of Verbs, which are capable of being separated from the Verb to which they belong. Thus they may perhaps be looked upon as Pronouns (see Sarikolí, p. 159).

They are :

Singular.	Plural.
1st pers. <i>am</i> or <i>im</i> .	1st pers. <i>an</i> or <i>in</i> .
2nd „ <i>at</i> or <i>it</i> .	2nd „ <i>av</i> or <i>iv</i> .
3rd „ (caret)	3rd „ <i>av</i> or <i>iv</i> .

THE VERB.

Every Verb appears, in its various tenses, under four *forms*, which require to be known, in each case, before it can be conjugated. These are :

(i.) The INFINITIVE form, from which are obtained a Verbal noun, the Imperfect Indicative, and two derivative verbal substantives and adjectives.

(ii.) The PRESENT form, from which are obtained the Present Future Tenses of the Indicative and Conditional, and the Imperative.

(iii.) The PAST form, from which is obtained the Past tense.

(iv.) The PERFECT form, (Perfect Participle) from which are obtained the Perfect Tenses and the Pluperfect ; also a derivative verbal Adjective and Substantive.

* Contracted from *ar-yem*, *da-yem*, *sak-yem*, *tsa-yem-an* respectively.

The following is a description of these formations :

- (i) *a.* The Infinitive (which appears under two forms: *âk* (or '*g*') and *an* or *in* or *un*) may be considered a verbal substantive, which takes several of the Prepositions and Postpositions as well as the Ablative termination *an*. Ex. *tsa marâin-an* = than (from) dying.
- b.* The Imperfect Indicative is formed from the Dative case of the Infinitive (considered as a verbal-substantive) by the addition of the pronominal terminations (see above), and of *tu*, the 3rd person Past Tense of the Verb "to be."

Ex. From *chilg-âk* "to desire"; Imperfect, *chilgâk-ar am tu* (lit. to the desiring I was) "I was desiring."

From *latsar-an* "to put"; Imperfect, *latsaran-ar am tu* "I was putting."

c. A derivative substantive (used also adjectively) in *küzg*. Ex. *nasün-küzg* "sleepy", "sleeper." It has a future or continuative sense.

d. Another derivative in *asok*, implying *fitness* or *likeness*. Ex. *könülük-asok* "laughable."

- (ii.) *a.* The Present tense (which has also a Future application) merely adds certain personal terminations to its own proper form. The personal terminations (which are different from the separable ones mentioned under the head of Pronouns) are as follows:

Singular.	1st	<i>am.</i>	Plural.	1st	<i>an.</i>
	2nd	<i>i.</i>		2nd	<i>it.</i>
	3rd	<i>â.</i>		3rd	<i>an.</i>

[These have a great resemblance, especially in the Plural, to those of the same tense in the Shina dialect of Dardu, which are:

Singular.	1st	<i>um.</i>	Plural.	1st	<i>on.</i>
	2nd	<i>e.</i>		2nd	<i>et.</i>
	3rd	<i>ey.</i>		3rd	<i>in</i> or <i>en.</i>

Ex. Present form: *vin*; Pres. Tense: *vin-am* "I see" or "am about to see", &c.

Pres. form: *châlg*; Pres. Tense: *châlg-am* "I desire" or "am about to desire", &c.

Sometimes the syllable *ap* is prefixed or affixed to the Present Tense, when it is used with a Future application. Ex. *vinam-ap* or *ap vinam* "I shall see."

- b.* The Present Conditional is formed from the Present Indicative by affixing *ô* to each of the persons. However, the 1st person singular seems often to be used in its Indicative form, and the 2nd person singular loses its terminational vowel. See Conjugation.*

* It refers to all times not earlier than the present moment, and so includes all the

- c. The Imperative is taken from the Present Tense of the Indicative, merely dropping the terminational vowel in the 2nd person singular, but retaining the termination in the 2nd person plural. The singular imperative is therefore simply the Root-form of the Present.

(iii.) The Past tense is formed by adding the separable terminations or pronouns to its own proper form :

Ex. Past form : *chàld* ; Past tense : *chàld-am* "I desired."

The 3rd person singular, having no special pronoun-ending, takes the termination *ei*, as do also the other persons when their pronominal terminations are separated from them or prefixed.

E. g. *chàld-ei* "he desired

am chàld-ei "I desired."

(iv.) a. The Perfect Tense similarly adds the separable terminations or pronouns to its own proper form.

Ex. Perfect form : *chilgetk* ; Perf. Tense : *chilgetk-am* "I have desired," &c.

Perf. form : *lakartk* ; Perf. Tense : *lakartk-am* "I have put," &c.

b. The Pluperfect is obtained from the Perfect Part. by rejecting the last letter of that form, excepting when it ends with *g*, and adding the syllable *tiw* (or *tiüv*) together with the separable terminations :

Ex. Perfect form : *chilgetk* ; Pluperfect Tense : *chilget-tiw am* "I had desired."

Perf. form : *ksheng* ; Plup. Tense : *ksheng-tiw am* "I had heard."

[N.B.—This affix is perhaps for the Past tense of the auxiliary "to be" (which see). Thus *chilget-tiw am* for *chilgetk-tü am* = "I was having desired" = "I had desired."]

c. The Perfect Conditional is formed from the Perfect Participle by adding the several persons of the Present Conditional of the Verb "to be."

Ex. *chilgetk hümiäm* "if I had desired", lit. "if I am having-desired."*

The Pluperfect Indicative is sometimes used instead of this Tense.

The syllables *sa* and *ki* are sometimes prefixed, in order to give a subjunctive or conditional sense.

d. A Verbal adjective is also obtained from the Perfect Participle by the addition of *ung*, *üng*, or *eng*.

Ex. *chilgetk-üng* "which has desired" or "is desired" or "has been desired."

English expressions : "if I were to desire," "if I should desire," "if I were desiring," "if I shall desire," "if I desired," &c.

* This refers to all times earlier than the present moment, and thus includes the English expressions : "if I have desired," "if I had been desiring," &c.

[When there are separate forms of the Verb for the Active and Passive Voices, there is not this ambiguity of application about the Verbal adjective.

E. g. *schköt-k-ung* "which has broken" (trans.)
schköng-ung "which is broken."

This form is also frequently used as a substantive.

Ex. *rasang-ung* "a cut or notch", from *rasudh-an* "to cut."

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB "TO DESIRE."

I. Infinitive form: *chilg-àk*; II. Present form: *chàlg*; III. Past form: *chàld*; IV. Perfect form: *chilgeth*.

Verbal Substantive, Nom. Gen. and Acc. *chilgàk* "the desiring or "to desire."

Dative: *chilgàk-ar* "to the desiring" or "for to desire."

Ablative: *sa-chilgàkan* "from desiring" or "than desiring," &c.

Derivative Substantives and Adjectives:

Future Present: *chilgàk-küzg* "who desires" or "will desire."

Passive (of fitness): *chilgàk-asok* "who is to be desired," "desirable."

Perfect Participial: *chilgeth-üng* "which has desired" or "has been desired" or "is desired."

IMPERATIVE.

chàlg "desire (thou)"; *chàlg-it* "desire (ye)."

INDICATIVE MOOD.

PRESENT FUTURE.

Singular.

1. *chàlg-AM* I desire
2. *chàlg-I* (or *chalg*) thou desirest
3. *chàlg-D* he desires

Plural.

1. *chàlg-AN* we desire
2. *chàlg-IT* ye desire
3. *chàlg-AN* they desire

PAST.

1. *chàld-AM* I desired
2. *chàld-AT* thou desiredst
3. *chàld-ei* he desired
1. *chàld-AN* we desired
2. *chàld-AY* ye desired
3. *chàld-AY* they desired

IMPERFECT.

1. *chilgàkar-AM tu* I was desiring
2. *chilgàkar-AT-tu* thou wast desiring
3. *chilgàkar-tu* ... he was desiring
1. *chilgàkar-AN tu* we were desiring
2. *chilgàkar-AY tu* ye were desiring
3. *chilgàkar-AY tu* they were desiring

PERFECT.

1. *chilgetk*-AM... I have desired
2. *chilgetk*-AT ... thou hast desired
3. *chilgetk* he has desired
1. *chilgetk*-AN ... we have desired
2. *chilgetk*-AV ... ye have desired
3. *chilgetk*-AV ... they have desired

PLUPERFECT.

1. *chilgettiw*-AM I had desired
2. *chilgettiw*-AT. thou hadst desired
3. *chilgettiw* ... he had desired
1. *chilgettiw*-AN we had desired
2. *chilgettiw*-AV ye had desired
3. *chilgettiw*-AV they had desired

N.B.—Although the above are the regular forms, yet the personal terminations of all Tenses referring to a *Past* time are separable from the verbal stem and may be placed in any previous part of the sentence, as has been said. This is the more common usage. When they are thus placed separately, the verb takes the form of the 3rd person singular of the tense required. Thus instead of saying “*wuz sa-tao-an chald*-AM” (‘I desired from thee’) it is more usual to say “*wuz* AM *sa-tao-an chaldëi*” or “*wuz sa-tao-an* AM *chaldëi*.” So “*tu khöch* AT *sa-maz-an chilgettiw*” or “*tu khöch sa-maz-an* AT *chilgettiw*” or “*tu* AT *khöch sa-maz-an chilgettiw*” instead of “*tu khöch sa-maz-an chilgettiw*-AT” (‘thou hadst desired bread from me’). This cannot be considered an impersonal verb with an instrumental case as in Hindústání transitive past tenses, because we have here also a pronoun of the same person in the Nominative.

THE CONDITIONAL MOOD.

PRESENT.

Singular.

1. *chàlgam* (if) I desire
2. *chàlg-ô* (if) thou desirest
3. *chàl(g)d-ô* (if) he desires

Plural.

1. *chàlgan-ô* (if) we desire
2. *chàlgit-ô* (if) ye desire
3. *chàlgan-ô* (if) they desire

PERFECT.

Singular.

1. *chilgetk-hümiām* ... (if) I had desired
2. *chilgetk-hümüi* (if) thou hadst desired
3. *chilgetk-hümüt* (if) he had desired

Plural.

1. *chilgetk-hümiün* ... (if) we had desired
2. *chilgetk-hümüit* ... (if) ye had desired
3. *chilgetk-hümiün* ... (if) they had desired

The Verbs which have their Infinitives in *g* or in *an* or *in* or their Perfects in *g* are conjugated in a precisely similar manner, regard being had to their typical forms (those of the Infinitive, Present, Past, and Perfect, which are given in the Vocabulary under each).

Ex. (i.) *Kshü-in* "to hear"; *kshüin-ar am tu* "I was hearing"; *kshü-in-küzg* "a hearer", &c.

(ii.) Pres. *kshüi-am* "I hear" *kshüi* "hear (thou)", &c.

(iii.) Past. *kshön-am* "I heard"; *kshön-i* "thou heardst" &c.

(iv.) Perf. *ksheng* "heard"; *ksheng am* "I have heard"; *kshengtiw am* "I had heard"; *ksheng hümiām* "if I had heard"; *ksheng-ung* "who has heard" or "is heard."

So also (i) *wing* "to see"; *wing-ar am tu* "I was seeing" &c.

The *Negative* is formed by prefixing *ma* to the Imperative (or to other tenses when used in an Optative sense), and *na* to all other tenses.

The Interrogative is formed by affixing *d* to the verb. See Sariḳolī.

The NUMERALS are as follows :

<i>iv</i> or <i>ī</i>	one	<i>dhas iv</i>	eleven
<i>bui</i> or <i>bū</i>	two	<i>wist</i>	twenty
<i>trui</i>	three	<i>sī</i>	thirty
<i>tsabür</i>	four	<i>chil</i>	forty
<i>pānz</i>	five	<i>panjā</i>	fifty
<i>shādh</i>	six	<i>altmish</i> (Turki)	sixty
<i>hüb</i>	seven	&c.	
<i>hāt</i>	eight	<i>sad</i>	a hundred
<i>nau</i>	nine	<i>hazür</i>	a thousand
<i>dhas</i>	ten		

a half = *chót* or *chóti*

One and a half = *iv u chót*

NUMERAL ADJECTIVES.

Add the syllable *ao* to the ordinary numerals : e. g. *iv-ao* = first, *bui-ao* = second, &c.

Sketch of Sarikoli' Grammar.

THE SUBSTANTIVE.

There is no distinction of GENDER.

The PLURAL is formed by affixing the syllable *av* or *iv* in the oblique cases, and the Persian word خیل *khèl* (a troop) for the nominative.

The relations of substantives are expressed as in English, either by position or by means of Prepositions or Post-positions attached to the Singular or Plural form of the noun.

The Nominative is marked out by position. The possessive relation is expressed by simple apposition; the name of the thing possessed being placed last: e. g. *chèd divîr* = the door of the house (house-door).

The Singular has but one form; the Plural has two, that of the Nominative and the Oblique form.

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
the house (Nom.)..... <i>chèd</i>	NOM. the houses..... $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{chèd} \\ \text{or} \\ \textit{chèd-khèl} \end{array} \right.$
the house's (Gen.) <i>chèd</i>	OBL. the houses' (Gen.)... <i>chèdiv</i>
to the house (Dat.) ... $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{AR-}\textit{chèd} \\ \text{or} \\ \textit{chèd-IR} \end{array} \right.$	.....to the houses (Dat.) <i>chèdiv-IR</i>
the house (Acc.) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{A-}\textit{chèd} \\ \text{or} \\ \text{AR-}\textit{chèd} \end{array} \right.$	.....the houses (Acc.)... $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{chèdiv} \\ \text{or} \\ \text{A-}\textit{chèdiv} \end{array} \right.$
in or at the house (Loc.) <i>PA-chèd</i>	.....in the houses (Loc.) <i>PA-chèdiv</i>
on the house <i>chü-chèd</i>	.....on the houses <i>chü-chèdiv</i>
towards the house..... <i>PAR-chèd</i>	.....towards the houses <i>PAR-chèdiv</i>
from the house (Abl.) ... <i>AZ-chèd</i>	.....from the houses (Abl.) <i>AZ-chèdiv</i>
with the house <i>chèd-KATTI</i>	....with the houses ... <i>chèdiv-KATTI</i>
before the house <i>chèd-prüt</i>	.....before the houses... <i>chèdiv-prüt</i>
as far as, till, also by means	.... as far as the houses <i>chèdiv-ITS</i>
of, the house <i>chèd-ITS</i>	&c. &c.

There is also a kind of Genitive absolute in *an* or *yan* :

Ex. *pâdkhâh-AN i radzîn* = a daughter of the King's ; *i vrod mu-yan* = a brother of mine.

THE ADJECTIVE

is not declined; it usually precedes the substantive.

An adjective can be formed from a substantive (or other word) by the addition of *enj* or *unj* (after a consonant), or *yenj* (after a vowel), which answers to the Hindústâni "*wâlâ*."

Ex. *Garma-YENJ* "belonging to a cave."

Dhes math-UNJ karâr "an agreement for ten days."

Added to the Perf. Participle of a Verb, this affix makes a Participial Adjective which may take the place of a relative clause in English.

Ex. *mu wanj-inj chêd* "the house *which* I have seen."

With a substantive it has a similar effect :

Ex. *Chêd-enj àdam-khel* "the people *who are* in the house" or "of the house."

There is an Adjectival Future Participle in *ichoz*.

Ex. *pigan yet-ichoz àdam* "the man *who is going* to arrive to-morrow" (lit. "to-morrow about-to-arrive man").

PRONOUNS.

The pronouns have mostly two forms, a Nominative and an Oblique form, as in English. The prepositions and postpositions are applied to the latter, as to Substantives, so that it is unnecessary to go through them in detail here.

SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
1ST PERSON.					
Nom.	<i>waz</i>	I	<i>mash</i>		we
Obl.	<i>mu</i>	me	<i>mash</i> or <i>mash-ev</i>		us
2ND PERSON.					
Nom.	<i>tao</i>	thou	<i>tamàsh</i>		ye
Obl.	<i>tü</i>	thee	<i>tamàsh</i> or <i>tamàsh-ev</i> ...		you
3RD PERSON.					
Nom.	<i>yü</i>	he, she or it	<i>wodh</i>		they
Obl.	<i>wi</i>	him, her or it	<i>wief</i>		them
ADJECTIVAL PRONOUNS.					
Nom.	<i>yu</i>	that	<i>wodh</i>		those
Obl.	<i>wi</i>	that	<i>wi</i> —— <i>ef</i>		those
<hr/>					
Nom.	<i>yam</i>	this	<i>modh</i> or <i>dodh</i>		these
Obl.	<i>mi</i> or <i>di</i>	this	<i>mef</i> or <i>def</i>		these

There is, as in Wakhî, a set of personal terminations to the Past Tenses of verbs, which are capable of being separated from the verb to which they belong and put in other parts of the sentence. Thus they have a certain claim to be mentioned among the pronouns. Perhaps we may look upon them as having been originally affixed pronouns (after the manner of the agglutinative languages), which have become worn down to a certain extent, losing vowels, and even disappearing and (in the case of the 2nd pers. Pl.) giving place to a substitute ; but still retaining the recollection of their origin sufficiently to be used separately. They are :

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1st pers. <i>am</i> (corresponding to Turkí <i>man.</i>)	<i>an</i> (corresponding to Turkí <i>miz.</i>) <i>av</i> (the original pronoun lost, and its place supplied by the simple Plural affix of Nouns.)
2nd „ <i>at</i> (..... <i>san.</i>)	
3rd „ — (also wanting in Turkí, as a verb termination.)	<i>av</i> (do. Conf. Turkí <i>lar</i> in 3rd pers. Pl. of verbs, which is simply a plural affix, used also with Noun.)

THE VERB.

Each verb assumes, in its several parts, either three or four distinct forms from which the various tenses are formed by certain rules.

The following forms are generally distinct, *viz.*

(i.) The *Infinitive* or *Root* form, from which are derived a verbal Substantive and Adjective, an Imperative, and the Imperfect Indicative.

(ii.) The *Present* form, from which are derived the Present Tense Indicative, and the Present Conditional.

(iii.) The *Past* form, from which are derived the *Past* Tense and the Perfect Tense [unless when the latter has a separate form of its own (iv.)].

The *Root* may be considered a verbal Substantive of which the Nominative Case and Accusative are formed by the addition of the syllable *ao*, the Root itself being its oblique form to which can be affixed several postpositions. Thus:

Root. Affix.

- a. Nominative and Accusative: *zokht-ao* “to take” or “the taking.”
Oblique: *zokht-ir* “to the taking” or “in order to take.”
zokht-its “whilst taking” “during the taking.”
- b. From the Root is also formed a Future Participle or Adjective by the addition of the affix *ichoꝝ*:
Ex. *zokht-ichoꝝ* “about to take.”
- c. And an adjective of probability in *asuk*:
Ex. *zokht-asuk* “likely to be taken” or “to take.”
- d. From the Dative of the Root is derived the Imperfect Tense Indicative Mood, as: *zokht-ir am vüd* “I was doing” [see Max Müller, *Sc. of Lang.*, Series II. p. 19.]

- (ii) *a.* The *Present* form is the basis of the Present Future Tense (with frequent irregularities in the 3rd Person Singular however). The terminations of this Tense are: 1st Person Singular *am*, 2nd Person Singular (none), 3rd Person Singular *d* or *t*; 1st Person Plural *an*, 2nd Person Plural *id* or *it*, 3rd Person Plural *in*.

[These terminations resemble, still closer than in Wakhi, (owing to the difference between the 1st and 3rd person of the Plural) those of the Present Future Tense of the Shina dialect of the Dardu Language. E. g., I go or will go, &c., in Shina, is Singular 1. *bôy-UM*, 2. *bôye*, 3. *bôyey*; Plural 1. *bôy-ON*, 2. *bôy-ET*, 3. *bôy-EN*. See Leitner's Dardistan, Vol. I., p. 32.]*

- b.* The Present Indicative gives rise to the Present Conditional by adding an *ô* to all the persons.

Ex. *zoz-amô* "if I should take" or "if I were to take."

- (iii) *a.* The *Past* form is the basis of the Past Tense, which is conjugated with the separable pronominal terminations given above at the end of the section on "Pronouns."

- b.* From it is formed (in many verbs) the Perfect Participle; by affixing the letter *j*.

Ex. Past Form: *zukht*; Perfect Participle: *zukhtj* "taken."

- (iv.) From the *Perfect* Participle (whether formed in this way or possessing an independent form) are derived:

- a.* A verbal Adjective, by the affixing of *enj* or *yenj*:

Ex. *zukhtj-enj* "having taken" or "which has taken."

- b.* The Perfect Tense, by the use of the separable pronominal terminations mentioned above:

Ex. *zukhtj-am* "I have taken."

- c.* The Perfect Conditional, by adding the several Persons of the Auxiliary Present Conditional *vao-am*, &c., "I may be, &c."

Ex. *zukhtj vao-am*, "I may have taken." (lit. "I may be having-taken.")

- d.* From the Perfect Tense Indicative Mood, again, is formed the Pluperfect Indicative, by affixing the syllable *it*, and using the separable terminations as before:

Ex. *zukhtj-it am* "I had taken."

* The German Present Indicative has also a curious resemblance to these:

Ich mache	.....	I make.	Wir machen	.....	we make.
Du machst	.....	thou makest.	Ihr macht	.....	ye make.
Er macht	.....	he makes.	Sie machen	.....	they make.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB "TO TAKE."

(3 Forms.)

- (i) Root form: *zokht*; (ii) Present form: *zôz*; (iii) Past form: *zukht*.

Verbal Substantive: Nominative and Accusative Case: *zokht-ao* "the taking" or "to take."

Genitive Case, ... *zokht* "of the taking."

Dative Case, ... *zokht-in* "to take" or "in order to take" or "to the taking."

Abl., *az zokht* "from the taking."

&c., *zokht-its* "during the taking" or "whilst taking."

Perfect derivative Adjective: *zokhtj-enj* "having taken" or "taking."

Future ditto ditto } *zokht-ichoz* "about to take" or "the
Also Noun of the Agent ... } taker."

Verbal Adjective of probability *zokht-asuk* "likely to be taken" or "to take."

IMPERATIVE.

zôz = take thou.

zôz-id = take ye.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

PRESENT FUTURE TENSE.

Singular.

1. *zôz-am* I take or will take.
2. *zôz* thou takest, &c.
3. *zôz-d* he takes, &c.

Plural.

1. *zôz-an* we take, &c.
2. *zôz-id* ye take, &c.
3. *zoz-in* they take, &c.

IMPERFECT TENSE.

Singular.

1. *ZOKHTIR (am)*vüd* I was taking.
2. *ZOKHTIR (at) vüd* thou wast taking.
3. *ZOKHTIR vüd* he was taking.

* The syllables between brackets are the separable pronoun-terminations.

Plural.

1. ZOKHTIR (*an*) *vüd* we were taking.
2. ZOKHTIR (*av*) *vüd* ye were taking.
3. ZOKHTIR (*av*) *vüd* they were taking.

PAST TENSE.

Singular.

1. ZUKHT (*am*) I took.
2. ZUKHT (*at*) thou tookest.
3. ZUKHT he took.

Plural.

1. ZUKHT (*an*) we took.
2. ZUKHT (*av*) ye took.
3. ZUKHT (*av*) they took.

PERFECT TENSE.

Singular.

1. ZUKHTJ (*am*) I have taken.
2. ZUKHTJ (*at*) thou hast taken.
3. ZUKHTJ he has taken.

Plural.

1. ZUKHTJ (*an*) we have taken.
2. ZUKHTJ (*av*) ye have taken.
3. ZUKHTJ (*av*) they have taken.

PLUPERFECT TENSE.

Singular.

1. ZUKHTJ-*it* (*am*) I had taken.
2. ZUKHTJ-*it* (*at*) thou hadst taken.
3. ZUKHTJ-*it* he had taken.

Plural.

1. ZUKHTJ-*it* (*an*) we had taken.
2. ZUKHTJ-*it* (*av*) ye had taken.
3. ZUKHTJ-*it* (*av*) they had taken.

CONDITIONAL AND SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

PRESENT FUTURE TENSE.

1. ZOZ-*amô* I may *or* should take.
2. ZOZ-*ô* thou mayest *or* shouldst take.
- &c. &c.

PERFECT TENSE.

1. ZUKHTJ *vao-am* I may have taken.
2. ZUKHTJ *vao* thou mayest have taken.
3. ZUKHTJ *vîd* he may have taken.
- &c.* &c.

* See Auxiliary defective verb "to be."

The prefix *tsa* is often used with the Indicative Present tense to give it a Subjunctive or Conditional sense.

In some Verbs the 3rd Person Singular of the Present Indicative is irregular in its form :

EXAMPLES.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Singular.</i>	
1. <i>vor-am</i>	I bring.	1. <i>didh-am</i>	I enter.
2. <i>vor</i>	thou bringest.	2. <i>didh</i>	thou enterest.
3. <i>vir-d</i>	he brings.	3. <i>dedh-d</i>	he enters.
<i>Plural.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
1. <i>vor-an</i>	we bring.	1. <i>didh-an</i>	we enter.
2. <i>vor-id</i>	ye bring.	2. <i>didh-id</i>	ye enter.
3. <i>vor-in</i>	they bring.	3. <i>didh-in</i>	they enter.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Singular.</i>	
1. <i>zân-am</i>	I kill.	1. <i>kan-am</i>	I make.
2. <i>zân</i>	thou killest.	2. <i>kan</i>	thou makest.
3. <i>zân-d</i>	he kills.	3. <i>ka-kh-t</i>	he makes.
<i>Plural.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
1. <i>zân-an</i>	we kill.	1. <i>kan-an</i>	we make.
2. <i>zân-id</i>	ye kill.	2. <i>ka-ït</i>	ye make.
3. <i>zân-in</i>	they kill.	3. <i>ka-ïn</i>	they make.

In the last example it will be observed that the 2nd and 3rd persons Plural are also irregularly formed.

Some Verbs have a distinct Perfect form [not derived according to rule from the Past Form].

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB "TO GO" OR "TO BECOME."

[4 Forms.]

- (i) Root Form: *set*; (ii) Present Form: *so*; (iii) Past Form: *süt*;
(iv) Perf. Form: *sedhj* (not *sütj*).

Verbal Substantive; Nominative and Accusative Case [Infinitive]: *set-ao* "the going *or* becoming," "to go *or* become."

Genitive Case, *set* "of the going *or* becoming."

Dative Case: *set-ar* "to the going *or* becoming," "in order to go *or* become."

Abl. Case: *az set* "from going, &c."

&c.... *set-its* "during the going" or "whilst going."

Perfect Adjective derivative *sedhj-enj* "having gone *or* become."

Future ditto *set-ichoz* "about to go *or* become."

Adjective of probability *set-asuk* "likely to go, &c."

INDICATIVE MOOD.

PRESENT FUTURE TENSE.

Singular.

1. sò-'m..... I go *or* become, *or*
will go *or* become.
2. sò thou goest, &c.
3. sau-ā..... he goes, &c.

Plural.

1. sò-'n *or* sò-yan we go, &c.
2. sò-īd ye go, &c.
3. sò-in they go, &c.

IMPERFECT TENSE.

Singular.

1. setar [am] vūd.. I was going *or*
becoming.
2. setar [at] vūd... thou wert going
&c.
3. setar vūd..... he was going, &c.

Plural.

1. setar [an] vūd we were going, &c.
2. setar [av] vūd ye were going, &c.
3. setar [av] vūd they were going,
&c.

PAST TENSE.

Singular.

1. sūt [am] I went *or* became.
2. sūt [at] thou wentest, &c.
3. sūt he went, &c.

Plural.

1. sūt [an] we went, &c.
2. sūt [av] ye went, &c.
3. sūt [av] they went, &c.

PERFECT TENSE.

Singular.

1. sedhj [am] ... I have gone *or*
become.
2. sedhj [at] thou hast gone, &c.
3. sedhj he has gone, &c.

Plural.

1. sedhj [an] we have gone, &c.
2. sedhj [av] ye have gone, &c.
3. sedhj [av] they have gone, &c.

PLUPERFECT TENSE.

Singular.

1. sedhj-it [am]... I had gone *or* be-
come.
2. sedhj-it [at] ... thou hadst gone,
&c.
3. sedhj-it he had gone, &c.

Plural.

1. sedhj-it [an] ... we had gone, &c.
2. sedhj-it [av] ... ye had gone, &c.
3. sedhj-it [av] ... they had gone.

CONDITIONAL AND SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

PRESENT FUTURE TENSE.

Singular.

1. sò-'mō I may *or* should go
or become.

PERFECT TENSE.

Singular.

1. sedhj vao-am... I may have gone
or become.

2. *sò-yó* thou mayest or shouldst go, &c. 2. *sedhj vao* thou mayest have gone, &c.
 3. *sau-dó* he may, &c. 3. *sedhj vid* he may have gone, &c.

Plural.

1. *sò-'nò* we may, &c.
 2. *sò-idò* ye may, &c.
 3. *sò-inò* they may, &c.

Plural.

1. *sedhj vao-an*... we may have gone, &c.
 2. *sedhj vao-id*... ye may have gone, &c.
 3. *sedhj vao-in*... they may have gone, &c.

CONJUGATION OF THE DEFECTIVE VERB "TO BE."

- (i) Root Form: *víd*; (ii) Pres. Form: *vao*; (iii) Past Form: *vüd*;
 (iv) Perf. Form: *vedhj*.

Nom. *vid-ao*.

Obl. *vid*, (*vid-ir*, *vid-its*, &c.)

Perfect Participial Adjective *vedhj-enj*.

Future do. (also Noun of the Agent)... *vid-ichoz*.

Verbal Substantive, "the being or existing": *vid-i*.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

PRESENT FUTURE TENSE..

Singular.

1. *vao-am** (*yost-am*)† I may be, or am.
 2. *vao* (*yost-at*) thou mayest be, or art.
 3. *vi-d* (*yost*) he may be, or is.

Plural.

1. *vao-an* [*yost-an*] we may be, or are.
 2. *vao-id* [*yost-av*] ye may be, or are.
 3. *vao-in* [*yost-av*] they may be, or are.

PAST TENSE.

Singular.

1. *vüd* [*am*] I was.
 2. *vüd* [*at*] thou wert.
 3. *vüd* he was.

PERFECT TENSE.

Singular.

1. *vedhj* [*am*] ... I have been.
 2. *vedhj* [*at*] ... thou hast been.
 3. *vedhj* he has been.

* Generally has a conditional sense, but is placed here, because it is in form a Present Indicative.

† This alternative tense is in form the Past-tense of some other Verb, but used for the Present Tense of this.

Plural.

1. *vüd* [*an*] we were.
2. *vüd* [*av*] ye were.
3. *vüd* [*av*] they were.

Plural.

1. *vedhj* [*an*] ... we have been.
2. *vedhj* [*av*] ... ye have been.
3. *vedhj* [*av*] ... they have been.

PLUPERFECT TENSE.

Singular.

1. *vedhj-it* [*an*] I had been.
2. *vedhj-it* [*at*].. thou hadst been.
3. *vedhj-it* he had been.

Plural.

1. *vedhj-it* [*an*].. we had been.
2. *vedhj-it* [*av*].. ye had been.
3. *vedhj-it* [*av*].. they had been.

CONDITIONAL AND SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

PRESENT FUTURE TENSE.

Singular.

1. *vao-amò*..... I may or should be.
- &c.

PERFECT TENSE.

Plural.

1. *vedhj-vao-am*... I may have been.
- &c.

THE INTERROGATIVE

is formed by affixing *â* to the verb, when there is no other interrogative adverb or pronoun in the sentence.

- E. g. *tü kâhr-yât-â* = has thy anger come?
 but: *TSEZ-AR at yât* why hast thou come?

NEGATIVE.

The ordinary negative consists of the syllable *na* prefixed to the verb. But in the Imperative or Optative the syllable *ma* is used instead.

- E. g. *na kan-am*, I make not.
ma kan, make not [thou].

NUMERALS.

The Numerals are as follows:—

<i>iv</i> or <i>î</i>	one.	<i>dhés-at-î</i>	eleven.
<i>dhàu</i> or <i>dhà</i>	two.	<i>vist</i>	twenty.
<i>harði</i>	three.	<i>vist-at-î</i>	twenty-one.
<i>tsavur</i>	four.	<i>sî</i>	thirty.
<i>pinz</i>	five.	<i>châl</i>	forty.
<i>khel</i>	six.	<i>pinju</i>	fifty.
<i>üed</i>	seven.	<i>altmish</i> [Turki] ...	sixty.
<i>wokht</i>	eight.	<i>ġc.</i> *	&c.
<i>néaw</i>	nine.	<i>sad</i>	a hundred.
<i>dhés</i>	ten.	<i>hazôr</i>	a thousand.

A half = *naim*; a quarter = *tsavur balàk*.

One and a half = *iv-at-naim*, &c.

NUMERAL ADJECTIVES

Add the syllable *ào* to the ordinary Numerals.

E. g. *iv-ào* first, *dhàu-ào* second, &c.

* The remaining multiples of ten up to ninety are borrowed from the Turki.

SUNDRY REMARKS.

1. The prefixes or prepositions, *a* and *ar* (*ir*), are never separated from their noun by any adjective or other word. Thus we have :

tu ar-tsem, lit. "thy to eyes", not *ar-tu-tsem* "to thine eyes."

Generally the other prepositions also immediately precede the noun :

E. g. *Khü tar-tsem* "to his-own eye" (lit. "own to-eye")

chinär pa-bön "at bottom of plane-tree" (lit. "plane-tree's at bottom")

i pa-garmä "in a cave" (lit. "one in-cave")

but we also have :

pa mi kásh "at this side" (lit.)

It would seem that adjectives and adjectival pronouns are sometimes allowed to be interposed between the prepositions (other than *a* and *ar*) and the noun.

2. There seems to be a Dative absolute in *i* :

Ex. *sandik mu'r-i* (*mu-ar-i*) " (let the) box (be) for me *or* to me"

khurjin tü'r-i (*tü-ar-i*) " (let the) bag (be) for thee *or* to thee"

or, as we should say, "the box to me, the bag to thee."

With a verb, the Dative would be : *a-sandik mu'r dhä*

"give the box to me."

3. The separable verb-terminations or pronouns in both Wakhí and Sariḳolí, are sometimes used instead of the verb substantive, after the manner of the Turkí language (which, however, employs the ordinary pronouns reduplicated).

Ex. (Sariḳolí) *laur* AM *waz* "I (am) great."

instead of *waz laur yostam* do.

Compare (Turkí) *man ulugh man* do.

(Sariḳolí) *dzül* AT *táo* "thou (art) small"

instead of *táo dzül yostat* do.

Compare (Turkí) *san kichik san* do.

The example of the Turkí (although belonging to another family of languages) shows, I think, that we need not seek, in these separable terminations, for the relics of some defunct verb substantive. In the present examples, as in children's language, the verb substantive is simply omitted altogether ; the apposition of the subject to the attribute being sufficiently explicit. A child says : "I good," "dog naughty." The Turk and the Ghalchah, in their own several manners, do the same ; only, for emphasis, they contrive to insert the pronoun twice (as in French "je suis bon, moi").

But it may be said: why should not these separable terminations be considered a tense of the verb substantive; attached to other verbs as an auxiliary, and also used independently as connecting the subject with its attribute? But I think the following answer might be made. Any tense of the verb substantive must have consisted originally of two elements; the constant *verb* element, and the variable *personal* or *pronominal* element. In the present case, the former element (if it ever existed) must have been rubbed off, for nothing remains but single syllables varying with the persons; in other words we have come back to the simple pronominal element, corrupted it may be by the companion which it has now shaken off. In either case, the separable terminations which we are considering are Pronouns, whether they have gone through the process of being attached to an auxiliary verb substantive (now vanished), or not.*

3. Relative clauses, which are rare in the simple Ghalehah dialects, are expressed usually by means of the verbal adjectives in *ung* (W.) and *enj* (S.), and in *küzg* (W.) and *ichoz* (S.)

Ex.

Wakhí	<i>Chini schköt-ung khalg</i>	}	“the person who breaks <i>or</i> has broken, the cup.”
Sariqolí	<i>a-chin varakhtj-enj adam</i>		
Wakhí	<i>Chini schködhn-kuzg khalg</i>	}	“the person who will break <i>or</i> is in the habit of breaking, the cup.”
Sariqolí	<i>a-chin varakht-ichoz adam</i>		

In this they resemble the Turanian languages.

4. Causatives or Transitives are generally formed in *iv* or *üv* (Wakhí), and *ánd* and *án* (Sariqolí).

Ex. Wakhí: *nadhefs-an* = to be dented

nadhefsüv-an = to dent.

Sariqolí: *bizeid-ao* = to touch

bizeidánd-ao = to cause to touch.

bizís-am = I touch

bizísán-am = I cause to touch.

5. In compounds formed of two verbs, both of them generally vary together, taking the terminations of the same person, instead of one of them taking a Participial form, as in Persian, Urdú, &c.

Ex. *rasidham-dürzam* = I cut I take
(I cut out)

instead of

dözg-rasidham = having taken I cut

or

rasang-dürzam = having cut I take.

* Compare the Persian terminations of the Perfect tense (*am*, *i*, &c.), which are also used to replace the verb substantive (See Forbes' Persian Gram. § 48). They

TALES FROM FORBES'S PERSIAN GRAMMAR PUT INTO
WAKHI.

1. I' khalg sa Aflatún-an pörstei ki ghafch sâl da kishti
 one person from Plato (abl.) asked that many years in ship
 tu daryâ safar at gokhteï da daryâ chiz 'ajaib at
 wert sea voyage (thou)* madest in sea what wonder (thou)
 windeï. Khattei 'ajab hêm (ha-yem) tu ki sa daryâ-an
 sawest? He said wonder this was that from sea (abl.)
 yikah-in saht am gottei.
 (to) shore (abl.) safe (I) arrived.

2. I' diwâna da i' bâi darwâza ragdeï i' chiz
 a beggar to a rich man's door went one thing
 châldeï. Sa khûn dôst-an jawab wazdeï ki kônd da khûn nast
 asked for. From house inside (abl.) answer came that woman in house is not.
 Diwâna khattei: chôth khôch am chilgattiw, kônd am na-chilgattiw
 Beggar said: piece bread (I) had asked for, woman (I) had not asked for
 ki azi jawâb am gottei.
 that such answer (I) have got.

3. I' hakîm har waqt da kabristân rachanar-tu khû réimal da khû
 a doctor whenever to graveyard used to go his scarf to his
 sar da khû rûi zwainar-tu; khalgisht pörstei ki: yáo sabab chiz kô?
 head to his face used to wrap; people (pl.) asked that: its reason what?
 khattei: yem kabristân khalgîv-an khajal wâtsam yao jinib ki sa zûi
 he said: this graveyard people from ashamed I am because that from
 dâru-an mard ki.
 my medicine they have died.

4. I' rwar i' mir khû pôtr mashan da shikâr ragdeï. Hawâ shûndr
 one day a king own son with to hunting went. Air hot
 wittei. Mir da khû pôtr-an khû bôt-a da i' shtik-khâk-küzg tan
 became. King with his son his cloak to one jest-maker's back
 lâkarteï. Mir khandei khattei: Eh shtik-khâk-küzg da tao i' khur vür
 put. King smiled said: Oh jester to thee one donkey's load
 ap-kümüt. Khattei: Balki bû' khur vür.
 there is. He said: Yea two donkeys' load.

5. I' put-dâm-ar khattei: chalgi ki ti dâm rást
 one crook-back to (they) said: desirest thou that thy back straight
 wâst ya digar khalgav dâm ti dâm rang put-dâm
 should become or other people's back thy back like crook-backed
 wâst? Khattei: chálgam ki digar khalgav dâm put-dâm wâst
 should become? He said: I desire that other people's back crooked should become

seem to be mere contractions of the fuller form *astam, asti*, &c., which is also sometimes used as a termination (or auxiliary verb) to the Perfect Tense (See Forbes, § 48. c). But as the whole of the constant element (*ast*) of this latter form has disappeared in the contracted form *am, i*, &c., it is evident that nothing can be left in the form *am, i*, &c., but relics of the pronouns.

* The English of the separable pronouns is put in brackets.

latsar,* yáo jinib ki da-yà chazm-an yáisht a-máz vînan waz yâv
 because that with those eyes they (acc.) me see I them
 sa vînam.
 may see.

6. I rwâr î mîr sa sha'ir-an rizdei, jallâd
 one day a king from (with) poet (abl.) become angry, executioner
 ramattei ki da zû prût shái. Jallâd khangâr wüzüman-ar
 ordered that in my presence kill (him). Executioner sword to fetch
 tagdei. Sha'ir házir khangav-ar khattei: ta khangâr wüzüman-its
 went. Poet present people to said: till sword fetching whilst
 a-máz chipât diid ki mîr khush wâst latsar. Mir kandeï, yáo
 me slap strike (ye) that king happy may-become. King smiled his
 gunáh shökhstei.
 fault passed over.

7. I khalg lup martaba gottei. I dost mubâarak gokhn-
 a person great dignity obtained. A friend congratulation in order-to
 ar wazdei. Yá khalg pörstei: tu kûi, chiz-ar at wazdei? Yáo
 do came. That person asked: thou who what for (thou) hast come? His
 dost sharminda vittei. Khattei: A-máz na dish'-â? ti kadimi dost
 friend ashamed became. He said: me not knowest? thy old friend
 wuz; niüwn-ar da ti prût am wazdei; kshôn-am ki kur
 I; in order to weep into thy presence (I) came I heard that blind
 at vitkei.†
 (thou) hast become.

8. I khalg darwêsh dastâr dözdei rannei darwêsh da-ḡabristân ragdei
 a person beggar's turban took fled beggar at grave-yard went
 neinei. Khalgisht yâr khattei: ki yá dhai ti dastâr da bâgh-
 sat. People to him said: that that man thy turban in garden
 gana yûttei, da ḡabristân chiz-ar at nieng chiz
 direction took away in grave-yard what for (thou) hast sat down what
 gokh. Khattei: Yáo ba ákhir ha-dram ap vizit.
 dost (thou). He said: He at the end to this very (place) will come.
 Ha-yem jinib dram nieng-am.

Therefore here I have sat down.

9. I naksh-khák-küzg da i shahr ragdei drá tabîbi pursam
 a picture-maker to a town went there doctoring beginning
 gokhteï. Tsum rwâr-an sibás i khalg sam diâr-an dà
 made. Some days (abl.) after a person from his country (abl.) at that

* *Latsar* is the root or Imperative form of the verb *latsar-an* "to put." Combined with another verb it seems merely an intensitive, if not altogether superfluous. It will be observed that the Optative 3rd person is rendered by the simple Imperative.

† According to the form given in the grammar this ought to be merely *vittk* (see 3rd person singular of the Perfect Tense). But I let it stand as above as taken down by me. It may be a mistake, through a false analogy on the part of the illiterate man from whom I took down the phrase; or it may indicate that the rule is not a hard and fast one.

shahr ghattei. Yáo vindei pörstei: Haniv chiz yer^k go? * khattei: tabibi town arrived. Him saw asked: Now what work doest? said: doctoring gom.* Pörstei chiz-ar? Khattei, Yáo jinib ki agar dam yer^k I do. He asked what for? He said, (for) that reason that if in this work gunáh gokham, shet yáo pür-döst dikht.
 fault I make, earth it on inside (strikes) presses.

10. Mir Iskandar Zü-'l-karnain i rwâr sa i fa^kir-an
 King Alexander Lord-of-two horns one day from a beggar
 shökhkstei. Khattei: Eh fa^kir, sa máz-an i chiz chál^g.
 passed by. He said: Oh beggar, from me (abl.) something ask.
 Khattei: Mags tashwish rándan, ramai ki ma-rándan. Mir
 He said: flies trouble give, command that (they) should not give. King
 khattei: sa máz-an i chiz chál^g ki da zü hukm hümüt. Fa^kir
 said: from me (abl.) something ask that in my power may be. Beggar
 khattei: agar mags da ti ikhtyár na hümüt, sa táo-an chiz
 said: if flies in thy power not may be from thee (abl.) what
 chál^gam?
 shall I ask?

11. I rwâr i khal^g khat-ar khattei ki har chiz da wundr da
 one day a person self to said that whatever in earth in
 asmán hümüt, kökht sa zü jinib hümüt; a-máz Khudá ghafch
 heaven may be all from (for) my sake may be (is); me God very
 lup áfrida gokhtei. Yá wa^kt i mags dam mis neinei. Khattei:
 great created made. That time a fly on his nose alighted. It said:
 tár azi takáburi na sázd. Yáo jinib ki
 to thee such superciliousness is-not-becoming. (For) that reason that
 har chiz da wundr da asmán hümüt, Khuda ti jinib áfrida gokhtei;
 whatever in earth in heaven may be, God (for) thy sake created made;
 balki a-táo sa zü jinib-an. Na dish' á ki sa táo-an
 but thee from (for) my sake (abl.) Perceivest-thou-not that than thee (abl.)
 luptar am wuz.
 greater (I) I.

12. I khál^g î bái sifát gokhtei. Hech chiz na gottei.
 a person a merchant's praise made. nothing not received.
 Yáo sibás-an ghaibat gokhtei; bái yáo^r hech chiz na khattei.
 That after slander made; merchant to him any thing not said.
 Bú rwâr-an sibàs yá khal^g dam darwáza ragdei neinei. Bái
 Two days (abl.) after that person at his gate went sat. Merchant
 khattei: Eh khal^g! sifát at gokhtei, wuz hech chiz am na
 said: Oh such-an-one! praise (thou) madest, I any thing (I) not
 rattei; ghaibat at gokhtei hech chiz am na khattei: haniv
 gave; slander (thou) madest any thing (I) not said: now
 dram chiz-ar at nieng? Khattei: Haniv chál^gam
 in this (place) what for (thou) hast sat down? He said: Now I desire
 ki agar moriô ti baid khánam.
 that if thou mayest die thy lament I will sing.

* Go and gom short for gokh and gokham.

WAKHÍ TALE.*

I kampír tu. Yáo-an i napüs tu. I rwâr yáo napüs khattei ki: Mir dhagd mar khastagà katt. Kampír khattei ki: Yáo Mir hümüt, sak faķir hümüün, yáo khü dhagd randà. Yáo napüs khattei ki: Tu rach, hudda pür maz. Kampír ragdei, khattei ki: I yupk-wâr chálgam. Mir khattei ki: Tamshín lüch díid. Chiz gí yit. Mir naukar-av tamshín lüch dikhtei. Pa khun ragdéi. Wáz yáo napüs stattei. Wáz Mir khun ragdé. "I yupk-wâr chálgam," khattei. Mir khü Wazír-ar khattei ki: Yem shaín-à, tsi-rang gòn? Wazír khattei ki "kalinga tķi katan. Yàn püshít ap." "Khhub, kaling katít." Hazâr kalâ, hazâr shutur, hazâr chát, hazâr yambu, hazâr kimkhâb bôt, hazâr atlâs bôt, hazâr adrâs bôt, hazâr arghumâk yâsh, hazâr ghulâm, hazâr chori, kartei. Kampír khaffah vittei ragdei.

Yao napüs pörstei "Hà mûm, tsi-rang". Kampír khattei: Yem rang, yem rang, yem rang." Napüs khattei: "Ma'ķul vinetk hümüt, hudda pür máz." Yao napüs angüshtar kartei khattei ki: "Atûm mâliha dram kökht paída wâst latsar." Ba dam-i-Suleimân Paighambar kartei; kökht paída vittei. Mîr prüt khalg ramattei: "Anjâm am házîr gokhtei. Mîr khü anjâm gokht latsar." Mîr hairân vittei waragnei. Khü Wazír-an pörstei ki: "Tsi rang gòn?" Wazír khattei ki, "Niv randan, hech Mîr tsa khü wa'dah-an na püshetk" Mîr khattei: Anjâm wüzümît" Khalg ragdei, kaling wozomdei. Mîr hairân vittei. Da Mîr kila na wistei. Toi-av gokhtei yutteî.

Kampír napüs da î chúl bíabán sa íshn-an ķila' kartei. Mir dhagd yutteî. I' rwâr tu, ki shikâr nieshtei, ki kampír wazdei. Pörstei ki, Kampír! chiz-ar at wazdei. Kampír khattei ki, Da Mîr dâmâd khun racham.

Mîr dâmâd da khü sibas kartei wozomdei. Mîr dhagd khattei, A-yem chizar at wozomdei, kampír khü pa-khûn ap na latsaran. Mîr dâmâd khattei ki: Sam dhast-an chiz wízít. Mîr dhagd khattei: Ti díl hümüt.

I' rwâr dâmâd shikâr nieshtei. Kampír khattei, Ti dhai tår yurung na tüwetk. Khü shâfsh dez ino (?) nözd, da khü dhai prüt ma-niüz. "Chizar na niüz" khand-ô, "Tu màr yurung-a na-tüwetk; tu mar yurungô, angüshtar màr rand," khan. Yao dhai wazdei, tam prüt na nieshtei. Khattei ki "chizar at zü prüt na-nieshtei." Dhagd khattei. "Tu màr yurung na-tüwetk." Khattei "tsi-rang yurungam nist." Dhagd khattei ki: Tao màr yurung hümüi angüshtar màr rand. Yao dhai yaor rattei.

Wáz shikâr nieshtei, kampír khattei ki: Daryá lab rachan. Da-daryá lab ragdei. Kampír khattei: Züi-an i charkh tei, sak ha-yao vidhâwan. Mîr dhagd vidhettei kampír katti; räs tav-gokhtei, pa asmân nieshtei; chap tav-gokhtei da-i shahr washtei. Ya shahr Mîr kampír-ar i lak tillah rattei. Kampír tillah dözdei tagdei.

* This seems to be merely a badly remembered story of the common Oriental type. But it will serve as an illustration of the Wakhi mode of speech.

Yao napüs wazdei, ki yao könd nist. Ghafch khaffa vittei. I'maina yao-an tu. Sa maina-an pörstei: Tar-kum ragdei? Maina khattei ki: Da-kampir-an katti tagdei. Napüs khattei ki: Tsa-rang gön. Maina khattei ki: "Wuz shahr ba-shahr gir-am shkur-am; got-am-ô angüshtar mâr rand-ap." Yao khattei: Khhub, rach, tu wâz amâz ma-bun. Maina khattei, Wuz na bun-am.

Maina ragdei, shkurdei; sum sâl shkurdei, gottei. Mir dhagd angüshtar maina-r rattei. Maina yuttei kampir napüs-ar rattei. Yao ba-dam-i-Suleiman Paighambar kârtei. Yao könd paida vittei, da khü murâd maqsud gottei.

TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING WAKHÍ TALE.

There was an old woman. She had a grandson. One day her grandson said: "Ask the King's daughter (in marriage) for me, (lit. arrange a betrothal)." The old woman said: "He is a king, we are beggars; will he give his daughter (to you)?" The grandson said: "Go thou; the responsibility is on me." The old woman went (and) said: "I desire a drawer of water".* The king said: "Kick (her out). What dirt is she eating?" The king's servant kicked (her out). She went home. Again her grandson sent (her), again she went to the king's house. "I desire a drawer of water", she said. The king said to his Wazir: "Shall we kill her, (or) what shall we do?" The Wazir said: "Let us appoint a large (full) marriage settlement. From that she will turn back (*i. e.* she will be unable to comply with it)." The king said: "Good, appoint a marriage settlement." He appointed a thousand rams, a thousand camels, a thousand cows, a thousand 'yambus,† a thousand brocade garments, a thousand satin garments, a thousand silk garments, a thousand thorough-bred horses, a thousand slaves, a thousand female slaves. The old woman became angry, (and) went away.

Her grandson asked: "Well, grandmother, how (go matters)?" The old woman said: "Thus and thus." The grandson replied: "It is agreed. I am answerable." Her grandson drew on a ring and said: "Let so much goods be all produced on this spot." With the breath of the Prophet Solomon he drew it on. Every thing was produced. He sent people into the presence of the king (saying), "I have made ready my arrangements, let the king prepare his own." The king remained in astonishment. He asked his Wazir: "What shall we do?" The Wazir said: "We will now give (the princess). No king has turned back from his promise." The king said, "Take his preparations." The people went and brought the marriage gift (of the bridegroom). The king was astounded. It could not be

* Wakhi mode of asking for a wife.

† A Chinese silver piece in the shape of a shoe, worth about £17 and current in Eastern Turkistán.

contained in the king's castle. They made the marriage and took away (the bride).

The old woman's grandson made a fortress of iron in a desert, (and) took the king's daughter (there). One day it so happened that he went out hunting. The old woman came. He asked, "Old woman! wherefore hast thou come?" The old woman said, "I am going to the house of the king's son-in-law."

The king's son-in-law put (her) behind him (on his horse) and brought her (home). The king's daughter said: "Why hast thou brought her? We will not put the old woman in our house." The king's son-in-law said: "From her hand what will come (what harm will she do)?" The king's daughter said: "It will be thy heart (?)"

One day the son-in-law went out to hunt. The old woman said: "Thy husband does not love thee, undo thy hair and sit weeping, do not go forth into thy husband's presence. If he says 'Why dost thou not come forth?' say, 'Thou dost not love me; if thou lovest me give me (thy) ring.'" Her husband came, she went not forth into his presence. He said: "Wherefore camest thou not into my presence?" The girl said: "Thou dost not love me." He said: "How do I not love (thee)?" The girl said: "If thou lovest me, give me (thy) ring." Her husband gave (it) to her.

Again he went out to hunt. The old woman said, "Let us go to the river bank." They went to the river bank. The old woman said: "I have a (spinning) wheel (to me there is a wheel), let us ride on it." The king's daughter rode with the old woman. She turned (the wheel) to the right, it ascended to the sky; she turned it to the left, it descended in a certain city. The king of that city gave the old woman a lak of tillas. The old woman took the tillas and went away.

Her grandson came (home); his wife is not (there). He became very troubled. He had a talking-bird, from it he enquired: "Whither has she gone?" The bird answered: "She has gone with the old woman." The grandson said: "How shall we do?" The bird said: "I will go round city by city and will search; if I find her, she will give me the ring." He said: "All right, go. Do not again — (?) me. The bird said: I will not — (?)"

The bird went and searched; for several years it searched (and at last) found (them). The king's daughter gave the ring to the bird. The bird took it away and gave it to the old woman's grandson. He with the breath of the Prophet Solomon drew it on. His wife appeared, and he attained to his desire.

TALES FROM FORBES'S GRAMMAR PUT INTO SARIḲOLÎ.

1. I khalg az Aflatun pörsť ki: Hűch sal ar-kima at
a person from Plato asked that: Many years to ship (thou)
vűd, daryâ safar at chaug; ar daryâ tsẻz tamâshâ at wând?
wast sea voyage (thou) madest to sea what strange things (thou) sawest?

Levd ko: 'Ajab yű vűd az daryâ pa mi kâsh am faribt
Replied that strange this was from sea to this shore (I) arrived.

2. I gadai bái pa darwâza sűť í chizi tálibť.
a beggar rich man's to door went a thing (something) desired
Chẻd az darűn jawâb yât ko khanzỏh pa chẻd niẻt. Gadai levd
House from inside answer came that lady at home is not. Beggar said
ko: I kỏnd khpik am tálibťjit a-khanzỏh am na talibtjit
that: a piece of bread (I) had desired (acc.) lady (I) not had desired

ko dỏs jawâb am vűg.
that such answer (I) obtained.

3. I habíb har-waťť pa kabristân set-ar vűd, khű
a (certain) doctor whenever to grave-yard was-going own
châdir kh' ar-kâl kh' ar-pets parwíd-ar-vűd. Mardum pỏrsť ko:
scarf own to head own to face used-to-wrap. Men asked that:

Mi sabab tsẻz? Levd ko: Az mi kabristân-enj murdhâ kha-
Of this reason what? He said that from this grave-yard (adj.) corpses asham-
jal som, wi ivon chỏi mu av dawâ-av khűgj maugj.
ed I am (I go) because whoever my (they) medicines have eaten have died.

4. I mậť i pằdkhằh shahzỏda katti ghẻu nakhtűg; Khẻr jűrm
one day a king prince with hunting went out air hot
sűť. Pằdkhằh at shahzỏda khű 'v lẻl maskharah chű sevd
became. King and prince own (they) cloaks jester's on back
lachaug. Pằdkhằh shủind levd: Eh maskharah! tű indẻr i shẻr wez
placed. King smiled said: Oh jester thee on an ass's load
yost. Maskharah levd ko: Badki dhằ shẻr wez.

is. Jester said that: Yes two ass's loads.

5. Khalg i duk-ar av levd ko: Talâb-â ko tű
People a crook-back to (they) said that: Desirest thou that thy
dom khez tsa-sỏd, yu judu khalg dom tű rang chẻrd tsa-
back straight should-become, or other people's backs thy like crooked should
sỏd? Levd ko: Talâb-am ko judu khalg dom duk tsa-
become? He said that: I desire that other people's backs crooked should
sỏd, wi-ivon wi tsem katti a-mu weinin, waz a-wif
become, because (so that) those eyes with (acc.) me they see, I (acc.) them
tsa weinam.
may see.

6. I mât*h* i pâdkhâ*h* i ar sha'ir zar sût. Jallâd-ir ramod
 one day a king a to poet angry became. Executioner to ordered
 ko: mu prût zân. Jallâd a-med*h*j veg-ir tûid. Sha'ir
 that: (in) my presence slay. Executioner (acc.) sword to-fetch went. Part
 házirav-ir levd ko: a mu chupatak dhòid, ko pâdkhâ*h* khush
 present people-to said that: (acc.) me slaps strike ye, that king happy
 sâod. Pâdkhâ*h* shiind; u az gunâ*h* nârzéd.
 may be. King smiled; and from fault passed over.

7. I khalg laur martabah vûg. I dest wi'r prût a-
 a person great dignity obtained. A friend to him before (acc.)
 wi wând-ir sût. Wi dest pörst ko: Chói táo? tséz-ar
 him in order to see went. His friend asked that: who (art) thou? what for
 at yât? Yü dest kharmin*da*h sût. Levd ko: A-mu na
 (thou) camest? That friend ashamed became. He said that: (acc.) Me no
 padzân-â. Tü-yan qadím-inj dest am waz. Mátam ivon am tu
 knowest? Of-thine old (adj.) friend (I) I. Condolence for (I) these
 prût yât, khed*h*j*it*-am táo at kaur sed*h*j.
 before came, I had heard thou (thou) blind hast become.

8. I khalg i darwêsh dastûr zukht ratsüst. Darwêsh ar-*q*abristân
 a person a beggar's turban took fled. Beggar to grave-yard
 sût nalüst. Mardum wi'r levd ko: "Yü âdam tû dastûr tar
 went sat down. Men him to said that: "That man thy turban towards
 bâgh-gunah yûd, tséz ivon at ar-*q*abristân nalüstj,
 garden direction took away, what for (thou) to grave-yard hast sat down,
 tséz kan áud?" Levd ko: "Yü mas akhír áud yâdh*h*; wi
 what doest here?" He said that: "He also at last here will come; that
 ivon am áud nalüstj.
 for (I) here have sat down.

SARIQOLÎ TALES.

I.

1. I nék i bad*h* vûd. 2. Wod*h* dháu av safar tûid. 3. Chan-
 dín mât*h* av pond tûid. 4. Wi ke*h*ch marzun sût. 5. Nek levd bad*h*-ir:
 I ghov khpi*k* mu'r dhâ. 6. Bad*h* levd ko: Tá*o* kh' tsem kaur kan, tom waz
 tú'r dhâm. 7. Nek khü tsem chafâ*nd*, azüm av tûid. 8. Chandín mât*h*-
 onj pond av tûid. Wâz wi ke*h*ch marzun sût. 9. Né*k* levd ko: I ghov khpi*k*
 mu'r dhâ. 10. Bad*h* levd ko: I sari tsem mas chafân, tom tú'r dhâm.
 11. Virt tsem kaur sût. Bad*h* tûid, nek réid. 12. I mât*h* chü biur nalüst.
 Khum (sham) sût. I küd yât. 13. Küd az dhum wadhord. Küd a-wi kutal-
 khü yûd. I pa garmâ duwust at khâ*b* sût. 14. B'ad az wa*k*t i khithp
 i yûrk*h* i rapt*s* i void yât. Yûrk*h* az rapt*s* pörst ko: Tá*o* at ko-jûi vûd

15. Raps levd ko: Waz am nür pâdkhâh ar-khâr (shahr) vüd. 16. Yürkh levd ko: Tsèz khabar yost? Raps levd ko: Pâdkhâh khû wazîr-av katti dar ghazab sedhj. Pâdkhâh-an i radzin kaur sedhj. Pâdkhâh khû wazîr-av-ir levd ko: Tamâsh tabîb varéit vôrit. 17. Khithp levd ko: Eh ahmâk at Pâdkhâh! tû mul ar-darûn i khöin réidz yost. A-wi réidz tsa vird, reidz ar-past tsa zôzd, wi tsem tázo saod. 18. Yürkh levd ko: Eh ahmâk at! garmâ prut i sávz chinâr yost. Chinâr pa bün i kaul yost. Har rang kaur tsa víd, az chinâr wadhord, i dhüst ar kaul dhíd, az kaul zôzd tar chinâr roft, az chinâr zôzd, khû tar tsem roft, wi tsem tázo saod.

19. A-di gap garma-yenj kaur khüd; pigan azüm indâud nákhütüg. 20. Süt chinâr pa bün. Az chinâr wadhord, khû a-dhüst dhôd ar-kaul, rift tar chinâr; rift khû tar tsem. Wi tsem tázo süt. 21. Azüm indâud tüid. Pâdkhâh ar-khâr süt, ko Pâdkhâh a-wazir-av jam' chaugj. 22. Az wazir-av pörst ko: "Nür tamâsh-ir dhés máth-onj qarâr vüd. Nür a-tamâsh zân-am." 23. Nék levd ko: Eh! Pâdkhâh 'Alam, mef a-gunâh i máth-onj talâb-am. Pâdkhâh levd ko: Ma'aqul. 24. Nék levd ko: mu'r hukm saud-ô Pâdkhâh radzin a-tsem tázo kan-am. 25. Pâdkhâh levd ko: mu radzin a-tsem tázo kan-ô a-wi tür dhâm. 26. Nék levd ko: Tû ar-mâl i khöin réidz yost. Mu'r vôr. 27. A-wi réidz vaug kökht. Wi a-talkhâ zukht. Pâdkhâh radzin chû-tsem vüst. Wi tsem tázo süt. 28. Pigân-adh Pâdkhâh-ar khabar süt radzin tsem tázo süt. Pâdkhâh khush-waqt süt. Levd ko: kiw káit vorid. 29. Pâdkhâh khez av yât. Levd ko: khû radzin tür tsa dhâm khush-waqt soy-â. 30. Nék levd ko: Eh! Pâdkhâh! tao pid waz pôts. Khû a-radzin nek-ir dhâd. 31. Pâdkhâh levd ko: Eh! pôts, nakhti chû takht. Nék nakhtüg chû takht.

32. Chandín máth az-zabô badh yât. "As-salám aleikum." Nék levd ko: "Aleikum as-salám. Tsèz talâb tü-yan yost." 33. Badh levd ko: "Eh! Pâdkhâh. Ghazína-i-ghaib az tü talâb-am." Levd ko: "Chârj saud, Só, falân jâi i garmâ yost. Garma pa darûn durr khurjin yost; lá'l sandîk yost; a-wi mur zôz vor; lá'l sandîk mur-i, durr khurjin tür-i." 34. Khair az-üm rawán süt tüid. Süt garma pa darûn. Khég-ir âsh, pamég-ir lél, az i chiz be-'âjat. 35. Badh levd ko: Eh Khuda! waz am dhéw sedhj-â, a-mi pâdkhâh-'r yussam-â. Khû-bath khor-am alâsam. 36. Khair; khâb süt. Yürkh, void, khithp, raps yât. Ghaul wodhd ko: Az darûn sherfâ nakhtüg. 37. Khithp levd ko: Eh! yürkh, i shâm kan. Yürkh a-shâm zukht; a-divîr hat chaug. Khalg nalüsîj. 38. Yürkh khuj dhaug; îmi'r taklîf chaug; khithp déid. Wi kech kond chaug. Badh maug.

II.

1. I churik-an harôi pôts vüd. I máth churik wasiyat chaug ko: Albatta, albatta, kénò khadorj yost, pa khadorj i-tsemi bâbâ yost, wi khez ma sò, yû âdam khird. Levd, maug. 2. Pöts khèl levd ko: Mâsh sôn.

Dzül pöts levd ko : na sôm. Laur pöts levd ko : sôm. 3. Azüm sût, levd ko : As-salâm aleikum, wa aleikum as-salâm. Sehat-at-â. Levd shükri. 4. Levd ko : Eh pöts, ko jui so. Levd ko, mu'-âtâ-an [pron. *m'âtâ'n*] ghazîna vüd par-wi am yât. 5. Bâbâ levd ko : Eh pöts ! be waḳt at yithj. Nür aud khâb-ar risan. Yü ghadhâ khâb-ar réid. 6. Bâbâ levd ko : Tao mu'r farzand sô, waz khû radzin tür dhâm. 7. Levd ko ; Tsèz kizmat tür kan-am. Bàbâ levd ko : I shèr yost, wi surun patao. Mu-yan i khislat yost. Tü kâhr yâdh-d-ô waz tü a tsem kau-am. Mu'r ḳahr yâdh-d-ô, tao mu a tsem kau. Ghadhâ levd ko : Ma'akûl.

8. Pigan indaud ; i ketman wi'r dhâd. "Sô, sher surun patao." Ghadhâ sût, ko divîr hât na sût a-divîr az garg chaug deid. 9. I mâtḥ chû-biur tiḳd, adâ na sût. Yât, a-ketman pataod. 10. Churik levd ko : Tü ḳâhr yât-â. Ghadhâ levd ko : Mu kâhr nei, ko tao at a mu zed. 11. Churik indaud, wi tsem kaud. 12. Dhau-âo pöts uz yât. Churik levd ko : Eh pöts tsèz-ar at yât ? Ghadhâ levd ko : Khâb i vrôd mu-yan (y)ithjit. A-wi am khkaig-ir yât. 13. Churik levd ko : khuj ma dhor. Tü âtâ-an fulân jûi ghazîna yost. Tü vrôd par wi tüid. 14. Tao mu'r khez nith. I shèr mu-yan yost ; tao wi surun patao. Waz khû radzin tür dhâm. 15. Ghadhâ pigan-ath nakhtüg. Shèr a-surun pataod. 16. Churik levd ko : Pigan az jangal zez vôr. Shèr-ar levd ko : Chû tü g-dhakhtô tao alâs. 17. Ghadhâ a-shèr det tüid. Az jangal zez chû shèr dhakht. Shèr alüid indaid-ir na chimbd. 18. Ghadhâ a-chog tiḳd. Wi ghaul khechakht. 19. Shèr azüm a-zèz zukht ratsüst, yât pa divîr. 20. Churik pörst ko : Eh Shèr ! tao at tsa'r yât. Shèr levd ko : Eh kaur ! tao mu ghaul na wain-â. Ghadhâ mu ghaul khechakht. 21. Churik levd ko : Ah bala ! shèr ghaul at tsa'r khechakht. Ghadhâ levd ko : Ah pid ! tu ḳâhr yât-â. 21. Churik levd : Mu ḳâhr yât. Ghadhâ zibet, wi tsem kaud. Churik maug.

III.

1. I bâi vüd. Bâi-an harôi pöts vüd, dhâ'r gal dhâ 'azâr mào vüd. 2. I mâtḥ levd ko : Sô pöts, az mâl khabar zôz. Laur pöts, tuid, a-mâl jama' chaug, ar-gal dhâd. Khâb pa divîr khuvd. 3. Barâbari khâb vüd ko dhâ vurjîn yât, a-mâl az gal det. Wi laur pöts pâdkhâh a-radzin wadhord. 4. Radzin levd ko : a-mu ma wadhor, mâl mu-yan. Laur pöts levd ko : mu-yan. 5. Radzin levd ko : tao a mu zôz. Waz a-mâl na dem. Laur pöts levd ko : Waz a-tu zôz-am ; waz som kh' âtâ khez. 6. Azüm sût khû âtâ khez. Âtâ levd ko ; Bala ! tsèz hayal at sût. 7. Levd Pâdkhâh radzin a-mâl mu'r na dhâd. Âtâ levd : Tsèz-ir na dhâd. 8. Pâdkhâh radzin levd ko ; Bâi a-mu kh' pöts-ir dhid-ô, waz a-mâl dhâm. 9. Âtâ pörst ko : Pâdkhâh radzin yûs-â. Laur pöts levd ko, na yûs-am. 10. Az madhân-sedhj pöts pörst : Pâdkhâh radzin yûs-â. Wi levd. Na yusam. 11. Az dzül pöts pörst ; Levd ko yûsam. Pid levd ko : te sôn. 12. Sût Pâdkhâh khez. Pâdkhâh khû radzin dhâd.

13. Mardum mubâarak-bâd-ir yât : “Ha Pâdkhâh ! mubâarak vîd, mubâarak vîd. Khub Pâdkhâh at vedhj. Makhorj darakht tû-yan na vedhj.”

14. Levd ko : A-mi chôi vareid. Mardum levd ko : A-mi tû dâmâd varéid. 15. Wi dâmâd khaffa sût, levd ko : Rozagâr i nek khez sôm. Levd, sô. 16. Azûm sût. Levd ko : Eh Rozagâr i nek ! Pâdkhâh mu'r levd ko : Makhorj darakht varé. Waz az ku varéam. 17. Wi ghin levd : Gham ma kan. Nêw past khû'r shira tâz. Nêw past khû vurj-ir shira tâz.

Ar-vurj suwâr sô.....vurj a-tû daryâ pa-lab yûst, khû vurj-ar chil kamchi dhâ, vurj ar-daryâ (?) ghût dhîd.....

LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE.

I.

1. (There) were (two men,) one good (and) one bad. 2. They went a journey. 3. (They) went several days' road. 4. Their stomachs became hungry. 5. The good (one) said to the bad : Give me a piece of bread. 6. The bad one said : Thou, make (thine) own eye blind, then I will give thee (some bread). 7. The good (one) pierced (his) own eye. Thence they went (on). 8. Several days' road they went. Again their stomachs became hungry. 9. The good (one) said : Give me a piece of bread. 10. The bad (one) said : Pierce also the eye (of the) one side (which remains), then I will give thee (some bread). 11. Both (his) eyes (thus) became blind. The bad (one) went (on), the good (one) remained. 12. He sat one day on (till) evening. (It) became evening. A dog came. 13. He laid hold by the dog's tail [lit. dog's from tail]. The dog leading (him) took him away. Brought him into a cave and went (to) sleep.

14. After a time, a wolf, a bear, a fox, a night-mare (!) came. The bear asked the fox : Thou, where wert thou ? 15. The fox said : I was to-day to (at) the king's town. 16. The bear said : What news is (there) ? The fox said : The king has become angry with his Wazîrs. A daughter of the king's has become blind. The king said to his Wazîrs : Find a doctor (and) bring (him). 17. The wolf said : Ah ! thou (art) a foolish king. Amongst thy flocks [lit. thy flocks' to inside] (there) is a blue goat. If he brings that goat, (and) takes the goat's skin, her eyes will become (renewed). 18. The bear said : Ah ! thou fool, before the cave (there) is a green plane-tree. At the foot of the plane-tree (there) is a pool. What kind so-ever (of) blind person (there) may be, (if) he lays hold of the plane-tree, puts [strikes] one hand into the pool, takes (water) from the pool, smears (it) on to the plane-tree, takes from the plane-tree, (and) smears (it) on to (his) own eyes, his eyes will become renewed.

19. The blind man who was in the cave [lit. the in-the-cave (adj.) blind man] heard this speech; next day he rose up thence (and) went out. 20. He went to the foot of the plane-tree. He laid hold of the plane-tree, struck his hand into the pool, smeared (water) on to the plane-tree, smeared [to] his own eyes. His eyes became renewed. 21. He rose up thence (and) went (away). He went to the king's city; when [that] the king had [has] assembled (his) wazirs. 22. He interrogated his wazirs (saying): To-day, your ten days' agreement is up [lit. to you ten-days' (adj.) agreement was]. To-day I slay you. 23. The good (hero of the tale) said: Oh king of the world! I beg (off the punishment of) their fault for one day. The king said: All right. 24. The good one said: If the order be (given) to me, I will cure (renew) the eyes of the king's daughter. 25. The king said: If thou curest my daughter's eyes, I will give her to thee. 26. The good one said: Amongst thy flocks (there) is a blue goat. Bring (it) to me. 27. He brought that goat (and) flayed (it). He took its gall (and) bound (it) on to the eyes of the king's daughter. Her eyes became renewed. 28. Next morning news went to the king (that) (his) daughter's eyes were cured. The king rejoiced. He said: Call (them and) bring (them). They came before the king. He said: If I give thee my daughter wilt thou be glad. 30. The good one said: Oh king! thou (art my) father, I (am thy) son. He gave his daughter to the good one. 31. The king said: Oh son! mount on the throne. The good one mounted on the throne.

32. After some days the bad one came. (He said) Peace be with you. The good one replied: And with you be peace. What is thy desire [lit. what desire of thine is (there)]. 33. The bad one said: Oh king! I desire a hidden treasure from thee. He replied: (It) is good. Go, in such a place (there) is a cave. Inside the cave (there) is a sack of pearls, (there) is a box of rubies. Take (and) bring them [it] to me. The box of rubies (shall be) for me, the sack of pearls for thee. 34. Well, thence he started (and) went. He went into the cave. (There was) food to eat, clothes to put on, no lack of any thing [lit. from one thing not lack]. 35. The bad one said: Oh God! have I become mad? Shall I take this to the king? By myself I will eat, I will lie down. 36. Well, (it) became night. The bear, the night-mare, the wolf, the fox, came. (They) gave ear (and heard) that a sound came from within. 37. The wolf said: Oh bear! show [make] a light. The bear took (a) candle (and) opened the door. (A) person was sitting (there) [lit. person has sat down]. 38. The bear felt fear; each invited the other (to enter) [lit. one to this one gave trouble*].

* The expression, *taklif kardan*, "to give trouble," "to trouble," is a common oriental one for "inviting in", answering to the French "donnez-vous la peine d'entrer."

The wolf entered. He tore [made] his stomach (to) pieces. The bad one died.

II.

1. A (certain) man had three sons [lit. of one man (there) were three sons]. One day the man gave (them) a dying warning, (saying) : Truly, truly ; (there) is an old mill ; in the mill (there) is a one-eyed old man ; go not before him ; he eats men. He said (and) died. 2. The sons said : We will go. The younger [little] son said : I go not. The elder son said : I go. 3. Thence he went (and) said : The peace be with you. (The old man replied) And with you be the peace. Art thou in (good) health ? (The son) replied : Thanks. 4. (The old man) said : Oh (my) son ! whither goest thou ? He replied : There was a treasure of my father's. To (seek) it I come. 5. The old man said : Oh son ! thou hast come untimely. To-day we will remain here for the night. That boy remained for the night. 6. The old man said : (Do) thou become a son to me ; I will give thee my daughter. 7. He said : What service shall I do thee ? The old man replied : (There) is an ass, throw away its dung. (There) is a custom of mine. If thine anger comes (if thou becomest angry), I will dig out thine eyes. If my anger comes, (do) thou dig out my eyes. The boy said : All right.

8. Next day he rose (and) gave him a hoe (saying) : Go, cast away the ass's dung. The boy went (and found) that the door (would) not open. He took [made] the door off its hinge (and) entered. 9. (For) a (whole) day till evening he removed (the dung). (The work) was not completed. He came (in, and) threw down the hoe. 10. The man said : Has thy anger come ? The boy replied : Am I not angry [lit. my anger not ?] that thou (hast) killed me (with hard work). 11. The man arose (and) dug out his eyes. 12. The second son again, came. The man said : Oh son ! what for (hast) thou come ? The boy replied : (Last) night a brother of mine had come (here). I came in order to seek him. 13. The man said : Feel not afraid ; (there) is a treasury of thy father's in such a place ; thy brother (is) gone to it. 14. (Do) thou sit down before me. (There) is an ass of mine. (Do) thou cast away its dung. I will give thee my daughter. 15. Next day the boy went out. He cast away the ass's dung. 16. The man said : To-morrow bring fuel from the forest. To the ass he said : If he loads (it) on thee, (do thou) lie down. 17. The boy drove the ass (and) went. He loaded fuel from the forest on the ass. The ass lay down, and consented not to get up (again). 18. The boy drew (his) knife (and) cut off its ear. 19. The ass took the (load of) fuel thence, (and) ran away, (and) came to the door. 20. The man asked : Oh ass ! what for (art) thou come. The ass replied : Eh !

(thou) blind man, seest thou not my ear? The boy (has) cut off my ear. 21. The man said: Oh child! what for (hast) thou cut off the ass's ear? The boy replied: Oh father! (has) thy anger come? 22. The man said: "My anger (has) come." The boy sprung up (and) dug out his eyes. The man died.

III.

1. (There) was a rich man. The rich man had three sons. In two folds (there) were two thousand sheep. 2. One day he said: Go, son, (and) take knowledge of the flocks. The eldest son went (and) gathered together the flocks, and put (gave) them into the folds. At night he slept at the door. 3. The night was over (?) when two horsemen came, (and) drove the flocks from the fold. That eldest son seized (one of the riders who turned out to be) the king's daughter. 4. The girl said: Seize me not, the flocks (are) mine. The eldest son replied: Mine. 5. The girl said: (Do) thou take me (to wife); I will not drive (away) the flocks. The eldest son said: I will take thee (to wife). I will go before my father. 6. He went thence (and came) before his father. The father said: Child! What delay has occurred to thee? 7. He said: The king's daughter (would) not give me the flocks. The father said: What for did she not give (them)? 8. The king's daughter replied: If the rich man gives me to his son (to wife), I will give up the flocks. 9. The father asked: Wilt thou take the king's daughter? The eldest son replied: I will not take (her). 10. He asked the second son [lit. from middle-being son]: Wilt thou take the king's daughter (to wife)? That (one) replied: I will not take her. 11. He asked the youngest [little] son. He replied: "I will take her." The father said: (—) We will go. 12. They went before the king. The king gave his daughter.

13. People came to (make their) congratulations. "Well, King! may (she) be happy, may (she) be happy! Thou hast been a good king. (But) thou hast not possessed a coral tree [lit. a coral tree of thine has not existed]." 14. He said: Who shall find this? The men replied: Thy son-in-law will find this. 15. His son-in-law became troubled. He said: I will go before my wife [lit. my good allotment or portion].* (The king) replied: Go. 16. Thence he went, and said: Oh wife! the king (has) said to me, Find a coral tree. Whence shall I find (it)? 17. His wife said: Grieve not. Draw on nine skins (as a) covering to thyself. Draw on nine skins (as a) covering to thy horse. Mount the horse . . . the horse will take thee to the river bank; strike thy horse forty (strokes of the) whip, the horse will plunge into the river. . . .

[The remainder of the MS. has become undecipherable.]

* A curious periphrasis to avoid saying "wife."

COMPARATIVE TABLE

showing the connection of the Ghalchah Languages with neighbouring Tongues.

ENGLISH.	INDIAN.		DARDU.	GHALCHAH.	PERSIAN.	
	<i>Modern.</i>	<i>Ancient.</i>			<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
father	... bap	... pitar, tãta	... tãt	... tãt, pid	... pitar,	... padar
mother	... mã	... mãtar, nanã	... nan	... nãn	... mãtar,	... mãdar
son	... putr	... putra	... putsh	... pöts, pötr	... puthra,	... pïsar
daughter	... dhí	... dulitar	... dhí	... dhagd	... ðughdar,	... dukhtar
brother	... bhrãta	... bhrãtar	... birar	... brãt, vrüt	... brãtar,	... brãdar
wife	...	... kanta	...	... könd	...	...
"	...	... jani	...	... ghin	... ghenã,	... zan
woman	... istirí	... strí	... striya	... stir, strei	... strí	...
child	...	... jata	...	... gãts [girí]	... zãda,	... zãda
grandson	...	... naptar	...	... napüs, nabüs	... naptar,	... nabir
heart	... hirda	... hridaya	... hardi	... zãrd	... zãredhaya	...
stomach	... ojhrí	... udara	... derr	... ður	... udara	... sar
head	... ank	... síras	... sorr	... sãr	... sara,	...
eye	...	... chakshu, akshi	... atchi	... chözín, tsem	... chashman,	... ashi chashm

eyebrow	...	...	bbru	...	...	vrao	...	brat,	...	abru
ear	...	...	ghósha	...	...	ghish	...	gaosha,	...	gósh
nose	...	...	nas	...	naskarr	náz	...	naonha	...	bini
tooth	...	...	dantam	...	dom	dúndük, dhandán	...	dañtan,	...	dandán
beard	...	...	darhi	...	argish	regish	...	raésa,	...	rish
breast	...	...	...	...	päs	püz, poz	...	...	...	...
bosom	...	...	...	...	chueho	chiiji	...	...	...	...
hand	...	...	hâth	...	host	dhast, dhüst	...	zasta,	...	dash
foot, leg	...	...	pəw	...	pa, pong	püdh, pedh	...	pádhā,	...	pā
blood	...	...	lohù	...	...	wukhan, wakhhin	...	vohuni,	...	khün
knee	...	...	jānu	...	...	zān	...	znu,	...	zānu
bone	...	...	asthi	...	ati	astak	...	ásti,	...	ustkhān
hair	...	...	...	...	dyāko	dākhś	...	...	...	...
mouth	...	...	...	...	usht	ghāsh	...	...	...	...
finger	...	...	ungli	...	anguli	{ yangl, ingakht* (sh)	...	angusta,	...	angushit
tongue	...	...	jibh	...	angustha	{	...	hizva,	...	zabān
name	...	...	nām	...	jihvá	...	ziv	...	...	nām
plant, grass	...	...	...	...	nāman	...	nung, nám	...	...	...
kiss	...	...	...	...	...	...	vakhsh, osh	...	vakhsh ?	[to grow]
	...	...	...	...	...	...	bā	...	...	bosah

* The sound *kh* in Sariḳolī and Wakhī often represents the *sh* of another cognate tongue. Thus *P. shab* is in Sariḳolī *khiab* &c. The Gaddis, a hill tribe of the Kánggrā district (Panjáb) have a similar peculiarity of pronunciation; e. g., *Dharmakhāla* for *Dharmasāla*; *khan* for *san* (hundred), &c.

ENGLISH.	INDIAN.		DARDU.	GHALCHAH.	PERSIAN.	
	Modern.	Ancient.			Ancient.	Modern.
road	... bat	... pathin	... pòun	{ pând vachak	... pañta ... pathan	...
apricot	...	...	... juru	... echeri	...	...
work	...	... arjana (apyor)	...	... yark	...	...
snow	... hiñ	... hina	... himm	... zam	... zima	... zam [cold]
star	... tarâ	... star	... istâri	... stâr, khtuuj (sh)	... stare,	... sitâra
sun	... sùrj	... svar	... yòr	... yîr, khher	... hvare,	... khùr
water	...	...	... uk	... vîk, yupk	...	...
bow	...	... dhanvan	... tshong	... tsan	... thanvana	...
bread	...	...	... shapik	... khpik (sh)	...	...
door	... dwâra	... dvâra	... darr	... divîr	... dvara,	... dar
cat	... púsâ	...	... pushi	... pîsh	...	... pushak
cow	... gau	... go	... go	... ghû	... gâo,	... gâo
crow	... kâg	... kâga	... kagh	... kargha*	...	...
earth	... ehîr	... jîmâ	... samm	... zens	... zen,	... zamîn
milk	...	... kshîra	... tshirr	... kashîr	... kshîra,	... shîr
moon	...	... mâsa	... mâs	... mûi, mâs	... mânh,	... mâh
month	...	... mâsa	... mâtz	... zûmak, mâs	... mânh,	... mâh

* This is the same in Turkî however. They are all probably onomatopœic.

rock, mountain	... gir	... giri	...	... ghâr, zèr ...	... gairi	...
horse	...	... asva	... giri	... yasap, yâsh	... aspa,	... asp
little	...	...	... tzâk	... dzâk	...	...
new	... nâya	... nava	... noch	... nûj	... nava,	... nau
big	...	...	... lut	... lup	...	...
black	...	... syâva	... shâ	... schû	... syava,	... siyah
white	...	... sveta	... (i)shperro	... spèid	... spaëta,	... safèd, sapèd
me	{ main mujh }	{ ma—	... ma	... ma—, maz, mù	... ma—	... ma—
thou	... tu	... twa—	... tu	... tu	{ tûm, thwa }	{ tu—
we, us	... ham	... asma—	... ispa	... spa [gen.], mâsh	... ahna,	... mâ
one	... ek	... eka	... i,	... iv, î	... aëva,	... yak
two	... do	... dvi	... dju	... bùi, dhào	... dva,	... do
three	... tîn	... trayas	... troy	... harò, trûi	(bizvat) ... thrayô,	... seh
four	... châr	... chatvâras	... chor	... tsavur, tsabiir	... chathwâro,	... chahâr
five	... pâñch	... panchan	... ponch	... pinz, pânz	... pañchan,	... panj
six	... chheh	... shat	... chòi	... shâdh, khel	... khshvas,	... shash
seven	... sât	... saptan	... sôt	... hûb, hüvd	... haptan,	... haft
eight	... âth	... ashtan	... osht	... wokht	... astan,	... hasht
				(sk)		
nine	... nao	... navan	... nò	... nèv, nâo	... navan,	... noh
ten	... das	... dasan	... djösh	... dhas, dhes	... dasan,	... dah

ENGLISH.	INDIAN.		DARDU.	GHALCHAH.	PERSIAN.	
	<i>Modern.</i>	<i>Ancient.</i>			<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
eleven	... igarah	...	djosh-i	... dhas-i, dhes-at-i	... aèva-dasan	... yazdah
fifteen	... pandrah	...	djish-ponch	... dhas-pinz	... pancha-dasan,	pàzdah
to cook, to ripen	... pak-na	... pach	... paj-ono	... pòch-an	... pach,	... pukhtan
to hear	... sun-na	... sru	... shunn	... kshün, khüd-ao	... sru,	... shanidan
to write	...	...	niwashe	... nevish-an	...	navishtan
he drinks	... pita	...	päe	... pät	...	...
I know	...	...	dashtam	... disham	...	...
to strike	...	han	... det?	... ding, dhád-ao	... jan,	... zadan
it broke	...	chhid	... chiddi	... shköttéi [shkönd]	... skend,	... shikast
to die	... marna	... mar	... miri-òno	... mara-in	... mar,	... murdan
with	...	...	{ kath	... katti	...	...
bull	...	...	{ batslan	... möshön	...	...
"	...	gò-râjâ	...	ghü-rgàn	...	...
calf	...	visha	...	... wierz	...	...
lamb	...	varkara	...	... wurk, barkâ	...	...
horse	...	vashkaya	...	... wushk, wishk	...	...
frog	...	vishala	...	... vurj	...	...
bear	...	bheki	...	sher-bich, karbej	...	...
ram	...	richh	...	yürkh	...	...
leaf	...	urna	...	wâr	...	...
	{ urnu (lamb)	urana	... urin	wiern	...	...
	...	bala	...	paleh	...	...

bireh	...	...	...	...	...	...	furz	...	...	...
night	...	...	...	...	...	...	naghd	...	...	...
wild ram	...	...	...	...	...	...	vroksh	...	...	...
house	...	...	...	...	...	...	ched, khùn	...	hadis,	khánah
wheat	...	...	...	...	...	...	ghidûm, zandam	...	...	gandam
cream	...	...	...	...	...	...	marik	...	[marez	"to brush against"]
ravine	...	...	...	...	...	...	dhôr, dher	...	...	darrah
this	...	...	...	...	...	...	yem, yam	...	aém,	în [im]
first	...	...	...	...	...	...	prût, prod	...	fratama	...
bull	...	...	...	...	...	...	druksh	...	ukshan	...
cattle (esp. yak)	...	...	...	...	...	...	staur	...	staora,	sutur
sheep	...	...	...	...	...	...	mài	...	maésia	mêsh
a flower, (a <i>spring</i>)	...	...	...	...	...	...	spragh...	...	[spareghâ,	spargham]
waist, also middle	...	...	...	...	...	...	{ madhân	...	maidhyana	miyana
a water-course	...	...	...	...	...	...	{ mād̄h, medh	...	maidhya	miyan
rain	...	...	...	...	...	...	wād̄h	...	vaz [to flow]	...
male	...	...	...	...	...	...	wür, wareij	...	vàra	bàràn
[other, further] side,	...	...	...	...	...	...	nièr	...	naira	nar
end	...	...	...	...	...	...	pür, pur	...	para	...

ENGLISH.	INDIAN.		DARDŪ.	GHALCHAH.	PERSIAN.	
	<i>Modern.</i>	<i>Ancient.</i>			<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
day	rwâr	... ayare	...
a charm	mutr	... mâthra	...
a demon or deity	...	mantra	...	liv, dhéw	... daéva	div
night	...	deva	...	khâb	... kshap	shab
sleep	...	kshapâ	...	khûdhm	... qafne	kh'âb
white [shining]	...	svapna	...	rukhn	... ruksh	[roshan]
	...	ruch [to shine]	...		...	(to shine) ...
sharp	...	tij	...	taghd, teid	... tighra	... tēz
dry	...	{ tigma	...	wesk	... hisku,	... khushk
putrid sushka	...	pitk, pedij	... pûti	...
there	...	pâ	...	hâ-drâ	... athra	...
towards	par	... paîti	...
who?	...	prati	...	kûi, choi	... ko, chis	kî
thus	...	kas	...	azi	... uiti	...
before itthâ	...	prût, prod	... fra	...
out	...	pra	...	vich, vach	... uç	...
I	wuz, waz [an]	... azem	...
to burn	...	aham	...	thaw-ak	... tafs	taftan
to weave	...	tap	...	wuf-an, wift-ao	... vap, ubda	baftan
to cultivate	...	ve; vabh	...	kûr-an	... karesh	kishtan
to milk	...	karsh	...	dhogn-am	... dug	dokhtan
	...	duh	...			
	...	doh-na	...			

to praise	...	...	...	stu	...	sfo-an, stand-ào ... stu	...	sit-udan
to give	...	...	de-na	...	dadâmi (<i>I give</i>)	...	radhâ-n, dhiâd-ào ... dadhâmi	dâdan
to see [<i>I see</i>]	...	...	...	...	...	[<i>I give</i>]	...	...
to lose	...	...	...	...	vid	...	wîn-am, wein-am ... vaên	...
to come	...	...	...	...	...	...	nûs-an, binâst-ào ... naç, [venaçet,	bîn-am
to return	...	...	...	...	...	...	Prsi]	...
to rise	...	...	...	...	...	...	yec-ào ... yaç	...
to lick	...	...	...	...	...	...	pshû-n ...	...
to dig	...	...	...	...	...	...	apasha [<i>back-</i>	...
a water-vessel	...	...	...	...	...	...	wards]	...
a dog	...	...	...	...	...	...	giz-an ... khiz	khez
autumn	...	...	...	...	...	...	likh-an, dhiht-ào ...	...
iron	...	...	...	...	...	...	kând-ào ...	...
moon	...	...	...	...	...	...	lut, liet ...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	kûd ...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	pîdz ...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	spin ...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	maesit ...	...

N. B.—Numerous other words apparently derived or corrupted from modern Persian, and also some from Arabic and Turkî, will be found on an inspection of the Vocabulary.

VOCABULARY.

A.	Wakhi.	Sarikoli.
to be able	*karsar-an karsar-am karkogn-am karkakhk	
above, over (postposition)	tša — wuch-an	az — ter, — az tèr
above, up (adv.) . . .	wuch	tèr
to abuse	varend-ak vârand-am vârâtam vârendetk	rând-ao rân-am rând-am rândj
to accompany	kamtu wâtsn	T. W. kamti set-ao T. S.
account, number . . .	asâb	asûb A.
on account of	— jinib	— ivôn
accoutrements	asbâb	P. asbâb P.
acute (metaph.) . . .	tiz	P. teiz P.
an adze	wajâk	wajâk
ill advised, who will not take counsel	nazakhht	nâghukht
to affect, to stain, to profit	nadhevs-an nadhevs-am nadhevd-am nadhâfk	nâdhevd-ao nâdhivs-am, nadhavs-t nâdhevd-am nâdhevdj
to be afraid, to fear . .	washuk-an washi-am washt-am wusheth	khuj dheigao — dhor-am — dhaug-am — dhaugj
afresh	tša-sar-an	az kar
after (p. p.)	tša — an sibâs tša sibâs — an	— az zabô az — zabô
afterwards, behind (adv.)	tsibas	zabô
again, moreover, also other wâz		P. wûz P.
age (years)	sâl	P. sâl P.
aged, old	khhiâr	P. pir P.

* The four words in each dialect opposite each English verb, are the four forms required to be known in order to conjugate the verb, viz. the Root or Infinitive Form, the Present, the Past, and the Perfect. Where there are two forms in the second place, the latter of the two is the 3rd Person Singular.

	<i>Wakht.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
to agree, to consent	kamei-n	chimbd-ao	
	{ kami-am }	chomb-am	
	{ kimi-t }		
	kamat-am	chimbd-am	
	kametak	chimbdj	
agreement, concord,	àsht	P. ukht	P.
to aim	karàwal dūrz-an	T. W. choḡand-ao	
		choḡân-am	
		choḡand-am	
		choḡandj	
all	kökht	fük	
to allow (<i>see</i> to put)	latsar-an	lacheig-ao	
alone	wîr	iwj	
along (prep.) following a road, river, &c.,	pas —	pas —	
also		mas	
an ambush, a man placed in ambush	mâlish tseràk-kūzg	sord-ichoz	
an ambuscade	mâlish	sord, mâlikh	
to lie in ambush	mâlish tseràk	sord-ao	
		sur-am	
		surd-am	
		surdj	
amongst		— darün	
and		at	
anger, wrath	ḡâr A. ḡàsh	ḡâr (ḡahr)	A.
to be, or become angry.	ḡàsh gokh-an, dar ḡâr	zar set-ao, dar ḡâr dhâd-	
	ding, riz-an	ao	
	riz-am		
	rizd-am		
	rizetk		
ancient, former	mis-ung	prôd-enj	
animal's droppings	pōshk	bukân	
an animal's leg	lōng	P. lang	P.
a riding animal, a 'monture'	wulâgh	T. wulugh	T.
to annoy	khafâ khâk	khafâ cheigao	
annoyed, troubled	khafâ	P. khafâ	P.
an answer, reply	jawâb	P. juwûb	P.
an ant	mîr-prich	chumêli	T.
	(<i>king worm</i>)		
an antler	schao	khao	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
an anvil . . .	sandâl . . .	sandâl	T.
any one . . .	hèch kûi . . .	P. W. hèch chòi	P. S.
to appear . . .	südhüi-n . . .	namâid-ao	P.
	südhüy-am . . .	namây-am	
	sadhoïd-am . . .	namâid-am	
	südhüyetk . . .	namâidj	
appearance . . .	rang . . .	rang	
an apple . . .	mür . . .	mân	
apricot . . .	chiwân . . .	nôsh	
arid, dry . . .	wesk . . .	ziakhj	
to arise . . .	giz-n . . .	indeid-ao	
	giz-am . . .	indüz-am	
	gözd-am . . .	indaud-am	
	gözg . . .	indaudj	
an armful . . .	pâz . . .	maghaul	
an armpit . . .	kal . . .	bijel	P.
arms, weapons . . .	asbâb . . .	P. yerâgh	T.
an army . . .	lûshkâr . . .	P. lakbkâr	P.
to arouse, to cause to stand	gizüv-n . . .	indeizând-ao	
up . . .	gizüv-am . . .	indauzân-am	
	gizovd-am . . .	indauzând-am	
	gizüveth . . .	indauzândj	
to arrange, to appoint (to			
throw) . . .	katâk		
to arrange in a line . . .	katâr latsaran . . .	A. katâr lacheigao	A.
to arrest . . .	pichrakhh-n . . .	pachrakhhht-ao	
	pachrakhh-am . . .	pachrekhhh-am	
	pachrakhhht-am . . .	pachràkhht-am	
	pachrakhheth . . .	pachrakhhhtj	
also . . .	pütrüm-n . . .	padromd-ao	
	pütrüm-am . . .	padromb-am	
	patramd-am . . .	padrombd-am	
	pütrümetk . . .	padrombdj	
to arrive, to reach . . .	* <i>gat-âk</i> . . .	farebt-ao	
	<i>gât-am</i> . . .	farobs-am	
	<i>gätt-am</i> . . .	faribt-am	
	<i>gatetk</i> . . .	faribtj	
an arrow . . .		pudh	
articulation, a joint . . .	band . . .	P. band	P.

* The *g* in italic represents the softer sound of the *ghain* mentioned above (see Sounds), resembling the German *g* in *tage*.

	Wakhi.	Sarikoli.	
an artizan	üstâdh	P. ustôdh	P.
ashes, cinders . . .	pàrg . . . .	. thîer	
to ask, <i>also</i> to have juris-			
diction over . . .	pörs-an . . . .	. pörst-ao	
	pörs-am . . . .	. pörs-am	
	pörst-am . . . .	. pörst-am	
	pörsetk . . . .	. pörstj	
an ass	khur . . . .	. shër (<i>from</i> khar P.)	
a jack-ass	hangî khhur	T. P. hangî shër	T. P.
a female ass	mâcha khhur . . . .	. markab shër	A. P.
a young ass	kuât . . . .	. té khâr	P.
a wild ass (<i>Equus hemionus</i>),			
found on Pàmîr . .	ķulan . . . .	. ķulan	T.
an assemblage . . .	ma'reka	A. ma'reka	A.
to assemble together, to			
be assembled . . .	ghört wâtsn . . . .	. wîkhtj setao	
assistance	kümök	T. kûmak	T.
to attain, to touch .	parva-in . . . .	. bezeid-ao	
	parvé-am . . . .	. bizîs-am	
	parvet-am . . . .	. bizeid-am	
	parvetk . . . .	. bizedhj	
to cause to attain, to hit	parvev-an . . . .	. bizeidând-ao	
with a missile . . .	parvev-am . . . .	. bizeisân-am	
	parvéâvd-am . . . .	. bizeisând-am	
	parvevetk . . . .	. bizeisânj	
an augury, an omen .	mutr . . . .	. fâl	A.
a maternal aunt . .	vôch . . . .	. vîts	
autumn	tîrmâ	P. pidz	
to awake, to wake up .	agâh wâtsn	P. W. agâh setao	P. S.
an awl	tsârz . . . .	. tsârz	
an axe, a hatchet . .	tipâr . . . .	. baldâh	T.
B.			
to babble, also to talk in	brâm-n . . . .	. wardhîd-ao	
one's sleep . . .	brâm-am . . . .	. wardhâu-am	
	brâmd-am . . . .	. wardhüd-am	
	brâmetk . . . .	. wardhüdj	
the back or rear of any-			
thing	sibâs . . . .	. zabô	
the back (of a man or			
animal)	part, dâm . . . .	. chomj, dom	
back, backwards (adv.)	tar-sibas . . . .	. tar-zabô	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
on one's back . . .	sak part . . .	chü chomj (on back)	
backwards, à reculons .	tsibás pudh . . .	zabuj padh	
badness . . .	shàki . . .	ziti	
bad, <i>also</i> old . . .	shàk . . .	zit, badh	P.
bad tasting . . .	trách . . .	? P. trách	
a bag . . .	khaltá . . .	khaltâ	P.
baggage, a load . . .	vür . . .	wez	
a baggage horse . . .	yâbu . . .	P. yâbu	P.
a baking-pan . . .	sât . . .	sâd	
a (playing) ball . . .	tup . . .	pátth	
the bank (of a river) .	lab P. kor . . .	lav P. yâr T.	
bare, naked . . .	shilakh . . .	chalendák	
bark (of trees) . . .	shung pist . . .	kabzák	T.
	<i>wood skin</i>		
to bark . . .	wák-n . . .	wâkt-ao	
	wák-am . . .	wâk-am	
	wâkt-am . . .	wâkt-am	
	wâketk . . .	wâktj	
barley, corn, cattle-feed.	yürk . . .	chüşhj	
a bat . . .	shaparak . . .	P. shaparak	P.
bay (colour) . . .	turugh . . .	türugh	T.
to bay together (as dogs),	varüi-n . . .	varaud-áo	
to howl . . .	varüy-am . . .	varáu-am	
	varoid-am . . .	varüd-am	
	varüyetk . . .	varaudj	
to be . . .	hümüi-n . . .	vid-áo	
I am, &c., . . .	tei-(am, at, &c.,) .	yost-am	
I was, &c., . . .	tu (am, &c.,) . . .	vüd-am	
having been . . .	tüwetk . . .	vedhj	
I may be . . .	hümi-am . . .	váo-(am, &c.,)	
thou mayest be . . .	hümüi . . .	(see Grammar.)	
he may be . . .	hümü-t . . .		
we may be . . .	hümi-an . . .		
ye may be . . .	hümü-it . . .		
they may be . . .	hümi-an . . .		
to tell one's beads . . .	shirâw-an . . .	nashrud-ao	
	shirâw-am . . .	nashrâw-am	
	shirând-am . . .	nashrud-am	
	shirâwetk . . .	nashrudhj	
a beak . . .	nüchk . . .	nüsk	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>			<i>Sarikoli.</i>		
the main beam of a roof	wás	.	.	wus		
a bear (brown)	nâghordum	.	.	yürkh		
to bear (a child)	yâz-n	.	.	zâd-ao		
	yâz-am	.	.	zey-am		
	yâzd-am	.	.	zâd-am		
	yâzetk	.	.	zâdhj		
the Great Bear	aft bradaràn	<i>(the Seven</i>				
	<i>Brothers).</i>	P. W.	aft kunan	P. S.		
a beard	reghish	.	.	bun		
beardless	kâsa	.	.	P. kesâ	P.	
to beat, to pound	chuk-n	.	.	chákt-ao		
	chuk-am	.	.	chá-k-am		
	chukt-am	.	.	chákt-am		
	chuketk	.	.	cháktj		
because	yao jinib, yem jinib	.	.	wi ivon, mi ivon		
to become	wâts'n	.	.	set-ao		
	{ wâts-am	.	.	{ sô-m		
	{ wâs-t	.	.	{ saud		
	vitt-am	.	.	süt-am		
	vitk	.	.	sedhj		
it becomes (suits) [im-						
pers.]	sáz-d	.	.			
a bed	píp	.	.	babér		
a bee, or a wasp	dhôs	.	.			
a beetle	singurt	.	.	jisk		
before (<i>time</i>)	dar wakht	P. A.	dar wakht	P. A.		
	tar — mis (<i>nose</i>),	.	— tar prôd or prut			
	— tar mis	.				
before (<i>place</i>)	— prüt	.	— prôd			
a beggar, a petitioner	chilgâk-küzg	.	tâlibt-ichôz			
beginning	pursam	.				
behind, after (<i>adv.</i>)	tsibás	.	zabô			
behind (<i>p.p.</i>)	tsa ——— sibás-an	.	— az zabô			
the being or existing	hümüin	.	vîdi			
a bell	zul	.	gûl			
below	purdast, sa — past-an	.	— pa bun, — az babér			
beloved or loveable	bâ tserâk-chok	.	bâ cheig-asuk			
to bellow	sak-wâghn wâtsn	.	chü wâghd setao			
belly, stomach	wânj, dur	.	kech			
to bend	khham ding.	P. W.	cheng dhâdao			
			kham dhâdao			

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
to besiege, to enclose . . .	kábál ding	.	kábál dhádao	
to bestow, to grant . . .	nung ding	.	núm dhádao	A. S.
betrothal . . .	kh'astaga			
between . . .	miyána			
beyond (p.p.) . . .	tsa — an dhîr	.	az — dhâr	
beyond (adv.) . . .	yà sâr	.	tar wi sâr	
the bile . . .	talkhâh	.	trâch	
to bind . . .	vand-âk	.	vist-ao	
	vând-am	.	vind-am	
	vâst-am	.	vüst-am	
	vandetk	.	vüstj	
a binding or edging . . .	ziek	.	zéak	T.
a birch tree . . .	furz *	.	kaying	T.
birch bark . . .	furz pist	.	kaying past	
a bird . . .	parinda	.	kush	T.
a biscuit . . .	pütâk	.	taķich	
a bit (horse's) . . .	jaoji	.	jaojao	
to bite or sting . . .	nosh ding	P. W.	nekh dhádao	P. S.
to bite . . .	dündük ding	.	dhandân dhádao	
bitter . . .	talkhh	.	tsekh	
the black on the bottom of a kettle . . .	rizm	.	rizm	
black . . .	schû	.	târ	P.
a blacksmith . . .	âin-gar	.	âin-gar	
a blanket, a body cover- ing . . .	kampál	?	bawéin	
a horse blanket . . .	jil	.	jal	P.
a cold blast . . .	sûz	.	sâuz (lit. 'a flame,' from the burning effect of cold)	
to bleat . . .	wâgh-an	.	wâghd-ao	
blessing (subst.) . . .	küt	.	küt	T.
blind . . .	kur	.	kaur	
blood . . .	wukhan	.	wakhhîn	
to blow . . .	puf tserâk	.	puf cheigao	
blue . . .	savz	.	khoîn, sâvz	P.
blunt . . .	muķ	.	méak	
to blush . . .	sôkr wâtsn	.	rüsht set-ao	
a boat . . .	kishti	.	kamâh	T.
to boil . . .	yâksh-n	.	wirevd-ao	
	yâksh-am	.	wârav-am	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
	yaksht-am . . .	.	wirevd-am	
	yakshetk . . .	.	wirevdj	
a bone . . .	yaich . . .	.	ustkhân	P.
boot (given in addition to an article exchanged)	bâlâmad . . .	.	üstag	T.
rough boots of untanned leather . . .	shüshk . . .	.	pekhkh	
the bosom . . .	bap . . .	.	tej	
both . . .	har kifch . . .	.	virt	
bottom . . .	. . . . .	.	bun	P.
a bow (to shoot with) .	kamânak . . .	P.	tsan	
	tir dast . . .	P.		
a wooden bowl . . .	kubun . . .	.	tothch	
a box . . .	sunduk . . .	.	sandiek	P.
a boy . . .	. . . . .	.	gadhâ	
bran . . .	safk . . .	.	sabast	P.
a branch . . .	sholkhh . . .	P.	shokhh	P.
to brand . . .	dâgh katak . . .	P. W.	dugh dhâdao	P. S.
the brain . . .	maghz . . .	P.	moghz	P.
brass . . .	khhâlâh . . .	P.	khholâh	P.
brave, courageous . .	bâtür . . .	A.	bâtür (bahadur)	A.
bread . . .	khoch . . .	.	khpik	
a thin cake of bread .	fitir . . .	.	chapâti	T.
breadth, width . . .	bâr . . .	.	bâr	P.
to break (intr.) . . .	wak-n . . .	.	wakt-ao	
	wak-am . . .	.	wak-am	
	wakt-am . . .	.	wakt-am	
	waketk . . .	.	waktj	
to break [intr.], to be- come broken . . .	schködh-an wâtsn .	.	varakhtj setao	
	also schködh-an			
	schkûr-am			
	schkönd-am			
	schköng			
to break (tr.) . . .	schködh-an . . .	.	varakht-ao	
	schkönd-am . . .	.	vareig-am	
	schkött-am . . .	.	varakht-am	
	schkötk . . .	.	varakhtj	
to break in (a horse, &c.)	borgi ding . . .	.	burgi dhâd-ao	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
to break (of a rope, &c.,)			
[intr.] . . .	rasüdh-n . . .	zðàkht-ao	
	rasedh-am . . .	zdeig-am	
	rasen-am . . .	zðàkht-am	
	raseng . . .	zðàkhtj	
to break (a rope or			
thread) [tr.] . . .	rasedhüv-n . . .	zdardhànd-ao	
	rasedhav-am . . .	&c.	
	rasedhovd-am		
	rasedhüvetk		
the breast, the chest . . .	püz . . .	poz	
breath . . .	dam . . .	dam	P.
a piece of brick . . .	shölg . . .	khalg	
a bridge . . .	skord . . .	yéid	
a bridle . . .	yikhân . . .	vidhân	
to bring . . .	wüzüm-an . . .	veig-ao	
	wüzüm-am . . .	{ vor-am	
		{ vir-d	
	wazâmd-am . . .	vaug-am	
	wüzümetk . . .	vaugj	
to bring or take in, to			
cause to enter, to in-			
troduce . . .	chirmüv-n . . .	duwâst-ao	
to bring to mind, to re-			
collect . . .	tar yâd wüzüm-n . . .	tar yôd veig-ao	
broad, expanded . . .	kshâdh . . .	P. kkhudh	P.
to bring up, to nurture .	dego-an	(sh)	
	deg-am		
	degd-am		
	degatk		
broken . . .	schköng		
which is or has been			
broken . . .	schköngung . . .	varàkhtj sedhj	
which or who has broken	schkötung . . .	varàkhtj-enj	
broken ground . . .	wuch past . . .	W. P. karsi bilik	
	(high low) . . .	[low high]	
a brother . . .	vrüt, lal (?) . . .	vrôd	
related as brothers . . .	vrüt-in . . .	vrador	
brow, forehead . . .	ruk		
to brush against, to im-			
pinge . . .	shtrâkh-n . . .	turft-ao	
	shtrâkh-am . . .	turf-am	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
	shtràkht-am . . .	turft-am	
	shtràkhetk . . .	turftj	
a buck-goat . . .	ghurgàu tugh . . .	büch	
a buckle . . .	alkâ . . .	alkâ	P.
a bull . . .	chât druksh . . .	chât khiëj	
	ghurgào . . .	wiërz	
a bullet . . .	wutch . . .	poth	
a bullock, an ox . . .	druksh . . .	khiëj	
a bundle . . .	bâghchâh . . .	T. bukhchâh	T.
to burn (tr.), to set fire to	thiüv-n . . .	thawând-ao	
	thiüv-am . . .	thawân-am	
	thâwovd-am . . .	thawând-am	
	thiüvetk . . .	thawândj	
to burn (intr.), to be burnt	thau-âk . . .	thid-ao	
	thau-am . . .	thau-am	
	thett-am . . .	thüd-am	
	thetk . . .	thedhj	
to burst [intr.], to be			
burst . . .	zübedh-n . . .	parist-ao	? P.
	zübedh-am . . .	pârâth-am	
	zübôn-am . . .	parüst-am	
	züböng . . .	parüstj	
to burst [tr.] . . .	zübütv-n . . .	parind-ao	
	zübüv-am . . .	parin-am	
	zübott-am . . .	parind-am	
	zübütk . . .	parindj	
to bury . . .	khhâk khâk . . .	ba khhâk cheig-ao	P.
a thorn bush, a bramble.	chirîr . . .	khâr	P.
a bush-harrow, a rake . . .	namurzg . . .	namüzg	
business, work . . .	yark . . .	chèr	
to butt . . .	ding [<i>to strike</i>] . . .	tàkht-ao	
		târdh-am	
		tàkht-am	
		tàkhtj	
butter . . .	rughn . . .	P. raun	P.
a butterfly . . .	pilpilâk . . .	köpali	T.
a button . . .	tügmâ, kâwa . . .	tügmâ	T.
to buy . . .	khharid tserâk . . .	khharid cheigao	
by, by means of, with . . .	———— mōshōn . . .	———— its	

*Wakhi.**Sarikoli.*

C.

a thin cake of bread	fitir			chapâti	T.
a calf	wushk			wishk	
to call, to summon, to make proclamation	kiw tser-âk			kiw cheigao	
	tsâr-am				
	tsârt-am				
	tsaretk				
a camel [two-humped]	ushtür		P.	khtür	P.
a young camel	üshtür zaman			tâilâk	
a [camel's] hump	kap			kiep	
camp, quarters, <i>also</i> a household	kosh		T.	kesh, kushum	T.
a canal, water-course	charm, wâdh			wâdh, üstang	T.
a candle [made by wind- ing cotton cloth round a central core of fat surrounding a stick]	sham			shâm	
a fur cap	tumâgh			tümâgh	
to take care of	nigâh tserâk	P. W.		nigâh cheigao	P. S.
a carrier of merchandize for hire	kirâ-kash		P.	kirâ-kash	P.
carrion	gündâs			târp	T.
a cat	pish			pish	
cattle	mâl (= <i>property</i>)			mûl	P.
horned cattle	chât			chât	
a cave	bâi		P.	bûi, garma	
a chain	zanzîr		P.	zanzéir	P.
to change [in appear- ance] [tr.]	yan rang khâk			yan rang cheigao	
to be changed	yan rang wâtsn			yan rang setao	
a charge [of cavalry]	sak-göfsn			chû-zokht	
cheap	arzân		P.	arzân	P.
the cheek	lunj			nûrj	
cheese	panîr		P.	panèr	P.
chestnut [colour]	jeiran		T.	jéirân	T.
to chew the cud	ramöt yit-n (<i>see</i> 'to eat')			wakhkièr khheigao	
a chicken [young]	kilich			chujâ	T.
a child, an infant	zâh, zaman			bachâh P., bala	T.
child-bearing labour	zichâ			zichâ	
a chimney	ritsn		P.	rezn	P.
	mori		? T.	meri	? P.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>				<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
to chirp, to twitter	chîr-an	.	.	? T.	chîrd-ao	
	chîr-am	.	.	.	chîr-am	
	chîrd-am	.	.	.	chîrd-am	
	chîretk	.	.	.	chîrdj	
to choose out, to select	yawer-n	.	.	.	yarur cheig-ao	T. S.
	yawer-am					
	yawerd-am					
	yaweretk					
to chop	rasüdh-n	.	.	.	khchakht-ao	
	rasedh-am	.	.	.	khcheig-am	
	rasen-am	.	.	.	khchakht-am	
	raseng	.	.	.	khchakhtj	
a chopping-board	dösh shung	.	.	.	dösh khüng	
a chough	swâts	.	.	.	ghogh	
cinders, ashes	parg	.	.	.	thier	
a circuit, a circumference	pslab	.	.	.	sàn dawànd	
					(edge circle)	
circular	put	.	.	.	pet	
a claw, a talon	chang	.	.	P.	changâl	P.
clay, mud	khhet	.	.	.	ghât	
fine clay	saghaz	.	.	T.	sâghâz	T.
a cliff	koh	.	.	P.	teij	
an overhanging cliff or a vertical precipice	haud	.	.	.	chapâk	
a cloak, clothes	bôt	.	.	.	lèl	
to close one's eyes, mouth, &c.	bârs-an	.	.	.	baghmîd-ao	
	bârs-am	.	.	.	baghmez-am	
	bârst-am	.	.	.	baghmûg-am	
	bârsetk	.	.	.	baghmûgj	
cotton cloth	chikman	.	.	T.	galèm	? P.
coarse cotton cloth	chil	.	.	.	tsaul	
bleached coarse cotton cloth	kinei	.	.	.	lèl	
to clothe (another person)	pametsiv-an	.	.	.	pamedzând-ao	
a cloud, a fog	mûr	.	.	.	varm	
cognizance, perception	darak	.	.	P.	darak	P.
cold (adj.)	sür	.	.	? P.	ish	
a cold	kokh	.	.	.	yong	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
to become cold . . .	wasèr-n . . .	patsig-ao	
	wasèr-am . . .	patsi-am	
	wasèrt-am . . .	patsüg-am	
	waseretk . . .	patsügj	
a cold blast . . .	sûz . . .	sauz	
coldness, cold (subst.) .	sûri . . .	ishi	
a collar [of a garment].	gharagh . . .	zerej	
to collect, to bring toge-	gürt-an . . .	wikht-ao	
ther . . .	gürt-am . . .	wikh-am	
	gortt-am . . .	wikht-am	
	gürtetk . . .	wikhtj	
colour, dye . . .	rang . . .	P. rang	P.
light-coloured [of eyes].	chakir . . .	chakar	
a colt . . .	tâi . . .	T. tâi	T.
a comb . . .	napösan . . .	wakhèrj	
to come . . .	wazé-in . . .	yet-ao	
	{ wazi-am . . .	yâdh-am	
	{ wizit . . .	yât-am	
	wazd-am . . .	ithj	
	wazg . . .	vayând-ao	
to cause to come [a liv-	wüzüm-n . . .	vayân-am	
ing creature] . . .	wüzüm-am . . .	vayând-am	
	wazâmd-am . . .	vayândj	
	wüzümetk . . .	nakhtig-ao	
to come out, to go out .	niuz-n . . .	râmâd-ao	
to command, to order .	raméi-n . . .	{ râmi-am	
	{ rami-am . . .	{ râmâ-id	
	rîmi-t . . .	ramod-am	
	ramatt-am . . .	ramodhj	
	rametk . . .	am-râh	P.
a companion on the road	am-râh . . .	am-râh	P.
to compensate . . .	tâwan rand-âk	P. W. tûlan dhâdao	
complete, entire . . .	drüst . . .	pütün	T.
to compound, to mix .	shind-ak . . .	khirkht-ao	
	shand-am . . .	khirkh-am	
	shandid-am . . .	khirkht-am	
	shondetk . . .	kherkhtj	
concord, agreement .	âsht . . .	P. ukht	P.
to consent [agree] .	kaméi-n . . .	chimd-ao	
to construct, to make .	sâz khâk . . .	P. suz cheigao	P.
contrariness, disobedi-			
ence . . .	mastrakhhi . . .	kaishi	T.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
contravening, contrary .	mastrakhh .	.	kaish	
to converse . . .	ksa khanàk .	A. W.	gap cheig-ao	P. S.
to cook, <i>also</i> to ripen .	pöch-an .	.	pizd-ao	
	pöch-am .	.	{ pez-am	
			{ pàs-t	
	pösht-am .	.	pekhht-am	
	pöchetk .	.	pekhhtj	
to cause to cook . .	patsüv-n .	.	pekhht ràràd-ao, &c.	
	patsüv-am .	.	(to command, q. v.)	
	patsovd-am .	.		
	patsüvetk .	.		
cooked rations . . .	sheilàn .	P.	sheilàn	P.
a cooking pot, a caul-				
dron . . .	dig . . .	P.	deg	P.
cool . . .	soz . . .	.	salkin	T.
to cool [intr.] . . .	wasern . . .	.	patsig-ao	
	waser-am . . .	.	patsor-am	
	wasert-am . . .	.	patsug-am	
	waseretk . . .	.	patsugj	
to cool [tr.] . . .	wasirüv-n . . .	.	pàtserând-ao	
	wasirüv-am . . .	.	pàtserân-am	
	wasirovd-am . . .	.	pàtserând-am	
	wasirüvetk . . .	.	patserândj	
copper . . .	mis . . .	P.	mis	P.
coral . . .	satk . . .	.	makhhorj	
Indian-corn [not grown in W. and S.] . .	konâk . . .	T.	konâk	T.
reaped corn, heaped up ready for threshing .	chiramn . . .	.	shürüm	
a corner [of any square space] . . .	pâlch . . .	.	bülung	T.
a corpse, a dead man .	mardhâh . . .	P.	murdhâh	P.
a cough . . .	kokhh . . .	.	kekhh	
to cough up phlegm .	akhh khâk . . .	.	akhh cheigao	
counsel, advice . . .	salâh . . .	A.	salâh	A.
to count . . .	asâb tserâk . . .	A. W.	asûb cheigao	A. S.
countenance . . .	pets . . .	.	rüi	P.
a counterpane . . .	kampal . . .	.	khavüng	
	kürpa . . .	T.	kurpa	T.
a country, "patrie" .	diâr . . .	P.	diûr	P.
courageous, brave . .	bâtür . . .	A.	bâtür.	A.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>
to cover, to close . . .	gin	bawîd-ao
	gaw-am, git	bawei-am
	gött-am	bawîd-am
	götk	bawedhj
to cover the head (by tying a cloth round it; said of a woman).	sâr zwain	sârmalâ dhâd-ao
a cow	chât ghû	chât zau
a cradle	gaura (gahwâra P.) . .	prâkht
a crane	turnai	turnâi
cream	marîk	mareb
to create	âfrîd khâk	âfrîd cheigao P. S.
to creep, to crawl . . .	gazâ ding	gazâ dhâdao
a crook-back	put-dâm	duk
crooked	kard	cherd
a crop	kûshtah	P. chermi
to cross (a Pass), to go over or round, to dance	gir-an	gherd-ao
	gir-am	ghirs-am
	gird-am	gherd-am
	giretk	gherdj
a crow	karghâ	karghâ T.
to crumble	frîl-n	warfakht-ao
	frîl-am	warfareig-am
	frîld-am	warfakht-am
	frîletk	warfakhtj
to cry (as animals or children)	nâla tserâk	chîrâs cheig-ao
a cuckoo	(none in <i>Wakhân</i>) . . .	kakkûk T.
cultivable	kûrn-asuk	chârd-asuk
to cultivate	kûr-n	chârd-ao
	kûr-am	châr-am
	kösht-am	chârd-am
	köshk	chârdj
cultivated	köshk-öng	chermi
cultivation	kûrn	chârd
a cup	pîl, chini	chinak, chini
curds	pâi	pòi
a curse	andiwat	zaugh
a custom, institution .	kaidah	A. yusun T.
a cut, a notch	rasang-üng	khchakhtj-enj

	<i>Wakht.</i>	<i>Sarikolt.</i>
to cut, to cut off . . .	rasüdh-n . . .	khchakht-ao
	rasüdh-am, rasatht	{ khcheig-am
		{ khchakht-am
	rasan-am . . .	khchakhtj
	rasang	
to cut, to whittle . . .	tüsh-an . . .	tukht-ao
	tüsh-am . . .	tûkh-am
	tosht-am . . .	tûkht-am
	tüshetk . . .	tûkhtj
to cut out . . .	rasüdh-n dürzn (<i>to cut to take</i>)	khchakht-zokhtao
	rasüdh-am-dürzam,	khcheig-am zôz-am, &c.
	(<i>I cut I take</i>) &c.,	
to cut with an axe . . .	trâsh ding . . .	P. W. chapôrd-ao
		chapôr-am
		chapôrd-am
		chapôrdj
to cut into strips . . .	khâsh-âk . . .	tizd-ao
	khâsh-am . . .	tâz-am
	khâsh-am . . .	tizd-am
	khâshetk . . .	tizdj

The Tartar year Cycle named after 12 animals is used.

Cypress (*cupressus toru-*

losa) (called pencil cedar) yârz imbârs

D.

daily, of a day . . .	rwâr-üng . . .	mâthonj
to dance attendance, to		
pay one's court . . .	shinjual khâk . . .	valvakh cheigao
dangling . . .	ravindak . . .	ravindak
darkness, dark . . .	târik . . .	târik P.
a daughter . . .	dhagd . . .	radzen
a daughter-in-law . . .	stakh . . .	zanâl
dawn . . .	rûkhhn . . .	P. yâul
to dawn . . .	rûkhhn wâts-n . . .	yâul dhâd-ao
a day . . .	rwâr . . .	mâth
day-time . . .	rwâr . . .	mâthân
deaf . . .	kâr . . .	P. chün
dealings (lit. give and		
take) . . .	dürzn radhâ-n . . .	dhâd zokht

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sariqoli.</i>	
dearness, scarcity	kimati	kimati	A.
death	màrg	màrg	P.
a débâcle of soil, rock, &c.			
brought into the stream			
by a flood of rain, &c.	shot	kara kokum	
a deception, a deceit	tarzik, durogh	tarziv, fànd	P.
a decree, an edict	ük m	ük m	A.
a deer, a general term for			
all horned wild animals		ghüej	
deficiency	dzàki	dzüli	
delay		hayal	A.
delicate, tender	senâf	nazük	A.
a demon	lîw	dhéw	P.
to dent, to compress			
forcibly	nadhefsüiv-n nadhefsüiv-am nadhefsovd-am nadhefsüvetk	nadhambând-ao, &c.	
dented (of a kettle, &c.)	nadhafk-üng	nadhevdj-enj	
to be dented, to be com- pressed	nadhefs-an nadhefs-am nadhavd-am nadhafk	nadhevd-ao nadhivs-am nadhevd-am nadhevdj	
to deny	munkir wâtsn	munkir setao	A. S.
to depart, to start	rawân wâtsn	rawân setao	P. W. P. S.
deprived of, without	bi ———	be ———	
to descend	kham-àk khâm-am khâmd-am khametk	khâvd-ao khâvs-am khâvd-am khâvdj	
a desert	dasht P., chûl	dokht P. chaul	T.
a desire	talab	talab	A.
to desire	chilg-àk châlg-am châld-am chilgetk	tâlibt-ao tâlâb-am tâlibt-am tâlibtj	
a "devil," a whirlwind	liw damà	dhéw balamüt	
dew, also a white frost	schak	khok	
difficult, troublesome	kilâh	kilâh	
with difficulty, hardly	azâr ghilâh	azûr ghilâh	P. W. P. S.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>
to die	mara-in	marg-ao
	mari-am, mîrit	mîr-am, merd
	mörtt-am	maug-am
	mörtk	maugj
to dig, to excavate	parköl-n	kaud-ao
	parköl-am	kâu-am
	parköld-am	kaud-am
	parköletk	kaudj
to digest	'azam khâk	'azam cheigao P.
to dip (tr.)	ghot ding P. W.	ghüt dhâd-ao P. S.
to dip oneself, to plunge	ghot yît-n (lit. <i>to eat a</i> <i>dipping</i>) P. W.	ghüt kheig-ao P. S.
direction	tûsh T., ganà	tûsh T.
in what direction ?	tar kum ganà ?	tar kâ gunâ ?
dirty	chirkin T.	ghazd
	rim	kheidh
a dish	kubûn	tothch
disobedience, contrari- ness	mastrakh	kâishi T.
to disperse, to scatter [intr.]	takhhirm wâtsn	takhhirm setao
disposition, temper	mijâz (<i>for</i> mizâj) A.	mijûz A.
to distribute [as alms]	bakhsh tserâk P. W.	bokhsh cheigao
a divarication of a stream	tarân	tarâm T.
to divide into small pieces	zest khâk	rezâh cheig-an P. S.
to do	khâk, <i>or</i> gokh-n	cheig-ao
	gòkh-am, gôm	kan-am, kakht
	gòkht-am	chaug-am
	khötk	chaugj
docile, tame, tractable, quiet	shov	shuv
a dog	shâch	kûd
a wild dog	kik	kâuj
the dog days	tâmus A.	tumus A.
a child's doll	kitkân	jinjik P.
which has been done	khötk-ung	chaugj-enj
a door	bâr P.	divîr
a door socket	gôrj	gargh
double-faced, deceitful	falfûs P.	kaibûr
doubt	gumân T.	gumân P.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
a dove	pakhtök	pakhtāk	T.
down	kilapāi	nughusūr	
downwards	kilapāi-mars	nughusūr-dās	P.
to drag	kashun tserāk	kakhelā cheigao	P.
to draw (a sword, &c., out of a receptacle)	küing kün-am kott-am künetk	nalfond-ao nalfon-am nalfond-am nalfondj	
to draw a line, to score	chirgh-khâsh-an —— khâsh-am —— khâsht-am —— khâshetk	chighâr-tizd-ao —— tâz-am —— tizd-am —— tizdj	
to draw out, to extract . . . .	. . . .	tizd-ao tâz-am tizd-am tizdj	
a dream	inât	khüdhm	
to dream	inât ving	khüdhm wândao	
to dress (one self)	pamets-an { pamets-am { pamest pamagn-am pamakhk	pameig-ao { pamez-am { pamiz-d pamaug-am pamaugj	
to dress (other people)	pametsiv-an { pametsiv-am { pametsüv-d pametsovd-am pametsüvetk	pamedzând-ao, &c. . . .	
dried, dessicated	wesk vitk-üing	ziäkhtj-enj	
to drink	pît-n pöv-am, pît pitt-am pîtk	brökht-ao brâz-am brukht-am brukhtj	
a drink made by mixing water with whey	daghov	dughov	
to drip	châk-an châk-am châkt-am chakatlk	khikt-ao khôk-am khikt-am khiktj	P.

*Wakhi.**Sarikoli.*

to drive in [a nail], to hammer	chuk-n		chàkt-ao chàkk-am chakt-am chaktj	
to drive	hài tseràk, zatran khàk .		zatran cheigao ; <i>also</i> dét-ao dé-am det-am detj	
to be drowsy, to nod .	khhal khhöfs-an . . .		khhal khhüfst-ao	
	khhal khhöfs-am . . .		khhal khhüfs-am	
	khhal khöfst-am . . .		khhal khhüfst-am	
	khhal khhöfsetk . . .		khhal khhüfstj	
a drug, medicine . . .	dârü, dawa	P.	dâri, dawà	P.
dry	wesk		ziàkhtj	
to dry (intr.), to become dry	wesk wâtsn		ziàkht-ao ziègh-am ziàkht-am ziàkhtj	
to dry (tr.)	wesk khàk		ziaulând-ao ziaulân-am ziaulând-am ziaulândj	
dung	sigin	P.	gharsh, sürün	
during, as far as, as long as, till	batkan		— its, ta — its	
dust	gàrd	P.	khghorm	
dust, earth	shet		sît	
dye, colour	rang	P.	rang	P.
H.				
an eagle	bispür		khtsüvd	
an ear	ghish		ghàul	
earless	chinák	T.	bé ghaul	
early in the morning .	naghdîn, naghdînak .		pigàn	P.
earnings, gain	gotak		vig <i>or</i> vigào	
an earring	gishniz		gakhnèz	
	ghish-pörg		ghàul safs	
	güshwâr	P.	güchwâr	
earth, ground	wûndr		zems	

	<i>Wakhí.</i>	<i>Sariqolí.</i>
earth, dust	shet	sít
a lump of hard earth . .	kilakhak	P. khàlg
East, sunrise. . . .	yír tserakhh	khher tserakhh
easy	asàn	P. àsàn P.
to eat	yít-an	khheig-ao
	yâw-am, yít	khhor-am, khhir-d
	yitt-am	khhüg-am
	yitk	khhügj
echo	tüngür	tüngür
an edge	lav	P. lab P.
	yakà	T. yakâ T.
an edging or binding . .	zièk	T. zèàk T.
white efflorescence [of saltpetre ?]	rezg	ravar
covered with efflorescence	rezgín	ravârin
an egg	falenz	kakkâ
eight	hât	wokht
eighty	saksan	T. saksan T.
the elbow	böret	yorn
an elm (said to grow in Sariqol, not in Wakhân)	sedà	? T. sedà ? T.
emaciated, lean	khòt	khut
an ember	zagürg	chugh T.
empty	ölk, püch	T. alk, puchak T.
to empty out	tösh-an or tösh tseràk . .	tis-ao or tis cheigào
	tösh-am &c. . . .	tis-am &c.
	tösht-am	tist-am (?)
	töshetk	tistj
to enclose, to besiege . .	kàbàl ding	kàbàl dhàdao
to encounter, to meet . .	dichâr ding	dichâr dhâd-ao
to endure, to last	poi ding	poi cheigao
to endure, or suffer	poi ding	poi dhég-ao
		— dhor-am
		— dhaug-am
		— dhaugj
enduring	poi-nâg	poi-nuk
to entangle	pargöshöv-n	baradzein cheigao
	pargöshöv-am	
	pargöshovd-am	
	pargöshövetk	

	<i>Wakhí.</i>	<i>Sarikóli.</i>	
entangled	pargöshetk	baradzein	
to be entangled	pargösh-n	baradzein setao	
	pargösh-am		
	pargösht-am		
	pargöshetk		
to enter	chiram-n	déid-ao	
	chern-am, cheram-d	didh-am, dedhd	
	chern-am	deid-am	
	chereng	dedhj	
to cause to enter, to	chirmüv-n	duwâst-ao	
bring or take in, to in-	chermüv-am	duwâdh-am	
troduce	chermovd-am	duwust-am	
. . . .	chermüvetk	duwustj	
the entrail	shingör	raud	P.
an entreaty, a humble			
petitioning	shinjuâl	valvâkh	
entire, complete	drust	P. putun	T.
an entrenchment	dar-band	P. chap	T.
to entrust	tâwîl tserâk	A. W. tâwîl cheigao	A. S.
an envoy	ilchi	T. ilchi	T.
equal, same, [one sort].	i rang	W. P. i rang	S. P.
equivalent	chok	? T. asuk	
an error, a sin	khhatâgi	A. khhatâgi	A.
to estimate [weight, &c.]	chok-khak	chok cheig-ao	
even, equal [in height].	barâbar	barôbar	P.
evening	pürz	biurn, khum	P.
		[shâm]	
of the evening	pürz-üng	biurn-enj	
the evil eye	kürdi	kürdi	? T.
a ewe	stréi mai	stir mâul	
to excavate, to dig	parkol-n	kaud-ao	
	parkol-am	kau-am	
	parkold-am	kaud-am	
	parkoletk	kaudj	
in excess, excessive	böshi	bakhi (? for bàki A.)	
to exchange	âlish khâk	T. âlish cheigao	T.
excitable, fiery	chepsan	jabuk	
excrement	gi		
to exert one's self, to			
make an effort	zor tserâk	zür cheigao	P. S.
to be exhausted, or pros-			
trated	sest wâtsn	süst setao	

*Wakhi.**Sarikoli.*

to exhibit, to show, to
cause to see . . .

visüv-n . . .	visând-ao
visüv-am . . .	visân-am
visovd-am . . .	visând-am
visüvetk . . .	visândj
to expel, to bring out . . .	zwâst-ao
nikhing . . .	zwâdh-am
nikhind-am . . .	zwâst-am
nikhit-am . . .	zwâstj
nikhitk . . .	

to express, to squeeze
out . . .

wazem-n . . .	sherzd-ao
wazem-am . . .	sherz-am
wazemd-am . . .	shirzd-am
wazemetk . . .	shirzdj

to extinguish, to cause
to go out, to put out
[fire] . . .

niüv-n . . .
niüv-am
noiövd-am
niüvetk

wazawând-ao, &c.

an eye . . .

the eye-brow . . .

an eye-lash . . .

chözm . . .	P. tsem
varào . . .	varào
skord . . .	yeid

F.

the face . . .

to face [towards] . . .

to fall . . .

rûi . . .	P. pets
rûi khàk . . .	P. W. rûi cheigao
wâz-n . . .	wokhtao
wâz-am . . .	wukh-am
wâst-am . . .	wokht-am
wâshk . . .	wokhtj

P. S.

family [in the larger
sense] . . .

famous . . .

far . . .

far-sighted . . .

as far as, as long as, till,

during . . .

farness . . .

fast [of a horse], light

[in weight] . . .

fast, well-paced . . .

khhèsh kaum

nungi . . .

dhîr . . .

chözm-in . . .

— batkan . . .

dhîri . . .

rânjk . . .

weyâuin . . .

P. A. khèkh kaum
P. nâmi
? P. dhâr
P. tsem-in

P. A.

P.

? P.

—its, tâ—its

dhâri

rindz

weyâuin

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
a fast	richagh	. ? P.	ruchàn	P.
to fasten a horse's head				
up short . . .	kaizà khàk . . .		kaizà cheig-ao	
fat, thick, stout . .	bàj, farbi P.		divèz, farbé P.	
fat, grease . . .	rogün . . .	P.	raun	P.
refuse of fat left after				
boiling	jaghzak . . .	? T.	jaghzak	? T.
a fat sheep . . .	pos . . .		pes	
father	tàt . . .		pîd, atâ T.	
father-in-law . .	khurs . . .	? P.	khhasur	P.
	bâghi tàt . . .		boghi atâ	
fatigue, tiredness .	warekhgi . . .		warezdagi	
a fault, a mistake .	khbatâgi . . .	A. P.	khhatâ	A.
a favourite or pet child	nâzyàn . . .		nûzyùn	P.
to fear, to be afraid .	washuk-an . . .		khûj dheigao	
	washi-am	}	—— dhor-am	
	wish-it		—— dhaug-am	
	washt-am . . .		—— dhaugj	
	wushetk . . .			
fear, fright . . .	washuk . . .		khûj	
fearful	washuk-küzg . . .		khûj dheig-ichoz	
a feast	tôi . . .	T.	téi	T.
to feel, to experience				
[mentally]			dheig-ao	
			dhor-am	
			dhaug-am	
			dhaugj	
a feeding tube [for babies]	upchi . . .		ruvj	
a felt	ijîn . . .		jéin	
a female	stréi . . .		stîr	
a thorn fence . .	chit . . .		chít	T.
to ferment, to rise [as dough], to foam [as water in a torrent]	pödhmôsh-an . . .		baleid-ao	
	pödhmôsh-am . . .		balis-am	
	pödhmôsht-am . . .		baleid-am	
	pödhmôshetk . . .		baledhj	
fever and ague . .	andav . . .		bazgàk	T.
a stubble field . .	naghaz . . .		naghaz	
fiery, excitable . .	chepsân . . .		jâbuk	
fifty	pinjâh . . .		pinjûh	P.
a fight	ghâsh, jang P.		ghâsh, jang P.	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
to fight together [of ani- mals]	māk-an	zghôd-ao	
	māk-am	zghâu-am	
	mākt-am	zghôd-am	
	maketk	zghôdhj	
a file	chafsâh	chafsuh	
to fill	tîi khāk	pür cheigao	
to fill into receptacles from a store of any- thing	khözn-n	pakhchüg-ao	
	khözn-am	pakhchor-am	
	khögn-am	pakhchüg-am	
	khökhg	pakhchügj	
to filter, to strain	schachüv-n	kardâzd-ao	
	schachüv-am	kardâz-am	
	schachovd-am	kardâzd-am	
	schachüvetk	kardâzdj	
to find, to receive, to obtain	got-āk	vig-ao	
	gôt-am	varé-am	
	gott-am	vüg-am	
	gotetk	vügj	
fine powder, also soft	pālm	pādhm	
a fine	tawéni	P. tawāni	P.
a finger	yāngl	ingākht	P.
the little finger	ziklai yāngl	zilak ingākht	
the 3rd, 2nd and 1st fingers	malung yāngl	madhân ingākht	
a finger-nail, a claw	dgör	nashaur	
to finish, to come to an end	adâ wātsn	adâ set-ao	
to finish (tr.)	adâ khāk or tserāk	adâ cheigao	
fire	rakhhnig	yuts	
a fire-place, a hearth	dildong	katsur	
first (adj.)	îw-ao	îw-ao	
first (adv.)	prüt		
a fish	mai	mui	P.
a fish-hook	changak	changāk	P.
the fist	möst	P. mut	? P.
five	pānz	pinz	
a flame	rājuj	sāuz	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
to flame up . . .	pidhing			
	pidhing-am			
	pidhn-am			
	pidhnetk			
a flank, a side . . .	shunj . . .		khaun	
flat . . .	anwâr . . .		anwûr	? P.
	pâkhj . . .		pâkhj	
flax, linseed (<i>none grown</i>)	zaghîr . . .	T.	zaghîr	T.
to flay, to kill . . .			kokht-ao	
			kegh-am	
			kokht-am	
			kokhtj	
a flea . . .	spardhenj . . .		bürgâh	T.
to flee . . .	rödh-n . . .		ratsist-ao	
	rödh-am . . .		ratsedh-am	
	rön-am . . .		ratsüst-am	
	röng . . .		ratsüstj	
flint and steel . . .	chikhmâk ghâr . . .		tsâkhmâk zèr	
a flock . . .	bakhsh . . .		tup	T.
flocks and herds . . .	kalâ . . .	P.	kalâ, mul	P.
to flood (spoken of the water), to be spread out	werkhhar-an . . .		walid-ao	
	werkhhar-am . . .		walis-am	
	werkhhart-am . . .		walüid-am	
	werkhharetk . . .		walüidj	
to cause to flood to spread out (tr.) . . .	werkhühv-n . . .		waléisând-ao	
	werkhühv-am . . .		&c.	
	werkhhovd-am			
	werkhühvetk			
a flood . . .	sîl . . .	A.	sèil	A.
flour . . .	yumj . . .		yogz	
to flow . . .	tuk-n (<i>to go</i>) . . .		tid-ao (<i>to go</i>).	
a flower . . .	spragh . . .		gûl	P.
a flower pot . . .	spragh-dân . . .	W. P.	gûl-dân	P.
a fly . . .	maks . . .	P.	chingin	
to fly . . .	rawez-n . . .		rawikht-ao	
	râwez-am . . .		râwâz-am	
	râwezd-am . . .		rawükht-am	
	râwazetk . . .		rawükhtj	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
to cause to fly . . .	rawazüv-n . . .		rawazând-ao, &c.	
	ràuzav-am			
	rawazovd-am			
	ràuzüvetk			
foam . . .	khuf . . .		khhef	
a fog, a mist . . .	bis . . .	Y.	büs	Y.
a fog, a cloud . . .	mur . . .		varm	
a fold (of cloth, &c.) . . .	tâ . . .		tu	P.
a sheep-fold . . .			gal	
to fold (sheep) . . .	tané-in . . .		duwâst-ao	(to cause to
	tané-am . . .		duwâdham	[enter])
	tanet-am . . .		duwust-am	
	tanetk . . .		duwustj	
to follow, to pursue . . .	zatran khâk . . .		zatran cheig-ao	
a fool . . .	gul . . .		aḥmak	A.
a foot, a leg . . .	püdh . . .		pedh	
a footman, a man on foot	piâdhâh . . .		piâdâh	P.
a foot-track . . .	podh . . .		pedh	
a ford . . .	türt . . .		paug	
to ford, to wade . . .	türt ding . . .		paug dhâdao	
the forearm . . .	yurm . . .		cheròst	
the forehead . . .	rûk . . .		râk	
former, ancient . . .	mis-ung, tar-mis-ung		prôd-enj	
formerly . . .	mis (= nose) . . .		prôd	
a fort . . .	kalhâ . . .	A.	kalâ	A.
fortieth . . .	chil-ao . . .	P.	châl-ao	P.
forty . . .	chil . . .	P.	châl	P.
a foster brother or sister	zârç . . .		zorç	
a foster child . . .	zârç zamân . . .		zorç balâh	S. T.
four . . .	tsabür . . .		tsavor	
fourth . . .	tsabürao . . .		tsavorao	
a fowl, a cock . . .	kürk . . .		tûkhi	T.
a fowl-house . . .	yost . . .		chelyò	
a fox . . .	nakhchîr . . .		râpts	
to free, to release . . .	khhalâs khâk . . .		khhalûs cheigao	P.
to freeze . . .	yikh vadhâk . . .	P. W.	shtu vistao	
	yikh tserâk . . .		sorj setao	
fresh, new . . .	tazah . . .	P.	tuzah	
a friend . . .	dost . . .	P.	dest	P.
to become friends, to be				
reconciled . . .	âsht wâtsn . . .	P. W.	ukht setao	P. S.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
to frighten . . .	washiüv-n . . .	khâwând-ao	
	washiüv-am . . .	khâwân-am	
	washiovd-am . . .	khâwând-am	
	washiüvetk . . .	khâwândj	
to frighten, cause to shy	witriüv-n . . .	intreisând-ao, &c.	
	witriüv-am		
	wotriovd-am		
	witriüvetk		
a fringe . . .	pulk . . .	pulk	
a frog . . .	mukt . . .	kharbèj	
frost . . .	ayâz . . .	ayûz	T.
from, than . . .	tsa or sa (with the oblique case in -an) . . .	az ———	P.
frozen, (of earth, &c.) . . .	yikh . . .	sorjin	
frozen, (of liquids) . . .	yikh . . .	shtu sedhj	
fruit . . .	miwâ . . .	méwâ	P.
a fruit stone . . .	kütük . . .	rukchi	Y.
to fry . . .	varesh-n . . .	virzd-ao	
	varesh-am . . .	virz-am	
	varesht-am . . .	virzd-am	
	vareshetk . . .	virz dj	
<i>also</i>		stipt-ao	
		stob-am	
		stipt-am	
		stiptj	
fuel . . .	gûz . . .	zez	
to be full . . .	tqi wâtsn . . .	pür setao	P. S.
full moon . . .	pür zümak . . .	pür mâs	
a fur cap . . .	tumagh . . .	tumagh	
a fur robe . . .	karast . . .	warbûn	
an irrigation furrow . . .	chinak . . .	chenâk	
on the further side . . .	trâ (<i>tar-yâ</i>) pür yâ sâr . . .	tar wi pur	
		tar wi sâr	

G.

galled (horse, &c.) . . .	kupt . . .	nukhtj	
to gallop (intr.) . . .	göfs-an . . .	zokt-ao	
to gallop (tr.), to cause to gallop . . .	göfsiv-n . . .	dawând-ao	
	göfsiv-am . . .	dawân-am	
	göfsovd-am . . .	dawând-am	
	göfsivetk . . .	dawândj	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>
to gather (one by one)	chüp-an . . . chüp-am . . . chövd-am . . . chöfk . . .	tsevd-ao tsev-am tsevd-am tsevdj
a gelding . . .	akhhtà . . .	akhhtà T.
a gimlet or centre bit . . .	barmâh . . .	barmâh P.
a girdle . . .	miün, taband W. P.	miünd, tabând S. P.
a girth . . .	taràng . . .	türong ? P.
to give . . .	radhâ-n . . . rànd-am . . . ràtt-am or dhett-am . . . ràtk . . .	dhâd-ao dhâ-m, dhi-d dhâd-am, dhâdj
gleanings . . .	sar-chöfk (lit. <i>head-gathered</i>) . . .	kâl-tsevdj (<i>do.</i>)
to glitter, to glisten . . .	jellàs tseràk . . .	pollàs cheig-ao
glue . . .	sharish . . .	serèkh P.
to go [move to], <i>also</i> to become [<i>setao</i>] . . .	rach-an . . . rach-am, rash-t . . . ragd-am . . . rakhk . . .	set-ao sò-m, saud süt-am sedhj
to go, to walk (<i>indef.</i>) . . .	tuk-an . . . chau-am, chit . . . taghd-am . . . takhk . . .	tîd-ao tedz-am, tiz-d tüid-am tüidj
to cause to go away, to remove . . .	chawüv-n* . . . chawüv-am . . . chawovd-am . . . chawüvetk . . .	tedzând-ao tedzân-am tedzând-am tedzândj
to go <i>or</i> come out <i>or</i> up . . .	niuz-an . . . niuz-am . . . niesht-am . . . nieshk . . .	nakhtig-ao nakhti-am nakhtüg-am nakhtügj
to go out [of fire] . . .	niü-n . . . niü-am, niyi-t . . . neit-am . . . nietk . . .	wazîd-ao wazêw-am, wazau-d wazüd-am wazüdhj

* Apparently the Causative of a verb *chau-an*, of which only the Present Tense remains. This is used as the Present Tense of the verb *tuk-an*, (see above) which seems to have lost its own.

Wakhi.

Sarikoli.

to cause to go out (fire),			
to extinguish	niüv-n .	wazawând-ao	
	niüv-am	&c.	
	noiövd-am		
	niüvetk		
to go round, to dance, to			
go over	gir-an .	gherd-ao	
	gir-am .	ghirs-am	
	gird-am	gherd-am	
	giretk .	gherdj	
a goat .	tugh, buch	vâz, reidz	
goat's down [pashm or			
shawl-wool] .	margilam	tibit	T.
goat's hair .	dhürs .	dhors	
goats and sheep	jândâr .	P. rezapai (? scattered	
		feet P.)	
a goatre .	zaghâr .	pukhhâk	T.
gold .	tillâ .	tillû	
good .	bâf .	chârj	
goods .		mul [mâl]	P.
goose .	ghâz .	ghâz	P.
a gorge, a ravine	jirâv, dhôr .	darâh, dhèr	P.
gossiping .	bi-zanâkhh	bi-zangân	
	(without lower jaw)	(without lower jaw)	
grain with the husk on .	drengal	char	T.
a grandfather .	pûp .	bâb	
a grandmother .	mum .	mâm	
a grandson .	napûs .	nabûs	
a granddaughter	do.	do.	
grass .	wûsh .	wukh	
lucerne grass .	wujerk (has a yellow		
	flower as in Tibet)	bedâ (with flowers	
		yellow, white and	
		blue, as in Yarkand)	T.
dhub grass .	ghéshâ .	ghéshâ	
a grasshopper .	milakhh .	malakhh	P.
to grasp, to press	trânj-an .	waghrakht-ao	
	trânj-am	waghréig-am	
	trânjd-am	waghrakht-am	
	trâkhhk	waghrakhtj	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
to grasp, to seize	wadhür-n	.	wadhord-ao	
	wudhür-am	.	wadhor-am	
	wodhord-am	.	wadhord-am	
	wudhuretk	.	wadhordj	
grease, fat	rogün	P.	raun	P.
great, big	lup		laur	
green	sävz		sävz	P.
grey (colour of a horse)	sharkkhün		karabôz	T.
to grieve	gham tseräk	A. W.	gham cheigao	A. S.
to grin	jök khäk		jiek cheigao	
to grind	chärkht khhàsh-an		chorkh tizd-ao	
grizzled	yekh		chäl	T.
a grub (that eats cloth)	wich		kuwâh	T.
to grudge	jahüdi khäk (lit. <i>to do the Jew</i>)		jahüdi cheig-ao	
	tkhheiri tseräk		abòì cheigao	? P. S.
to guard	nigàh khäk	P. W.	nigàh cheigao	P. S.
a guide,	sär tseräk-küzg		sär-kün	P.
to guide, to precede	sär khäk		sär cheigao	
a gun	miltek		miltek	T.
the gut	kütàn		kütàn	T.
a gutter	sarjen		tabèn	
H.				
hair (of the head)	shâfsh		khâd	
hair (on the body)	rip		reb	
half	choti, nimâh		nimâh	P.
a halter	sär-band	P.	kâl-band	P.
to hammer	chuk-an		chàkt-ao	
	chuk-am		chàkk-am	
	chukt-am		chàkt-am	
	chuketk		chàktj	
a hand	dhast		dhüst	
a handful	mich		mut	P.
a double handful	mich		ingrôv	
a handkerchief	rimâl	P.	reimâl	P.
the handle (of any tool)	wâdh		wièdh	
handsome, good-looking	khush-rûi	P.	khühsh rûi	P.
to hang from a peg &c.	ziröv-n		ingàkhht-ao	
(intr.)	ziröv-am		ingàkhhs-am	
	zirögn-am		ingàkhht-am	
	zirökhk		ingàkhhtj	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
happy, well . . .	sihât	A.	tinj	T.
to be happy . . .	khûsh wâkhht wâtsn		khûsh wakhht setao	
hard . . .	tung		teng	
hardly, with difficulty . . .	azâr ghilâh	P. W.	azûr ghilâh	P. S.
a hare . . .	sûi		khtûm	
haste, hurry . . .	iztrâb	A.	jâti	? P.
to hasten, to hurry . . .	iztrâb khâk	A. W.	jâti cheigao	P. S.
a hatchet, an axe . . .	tîpar	P.	baldah	T.
I have, thou hast, &c. . .	zû — tei, ti — tei, &c. (my — is) (thy — is).		mu—yost, tû—yost, &c. (my—is) (thy—is)	
a kind of hawk (karchi-ghah, T.) . . .	shâin		shôin	
the head . . .	sâr	P.	kâl	P.
the back of the head . . .	tor		tur	
a headman (of a village, &c.) . . .	arbâb		arbôb	A.
a heap (of grain) . . .	sor		sor	
to heap up . . .	sor khâk		sor cheigao	
to hear . . .	kshûin		khûd-ao	
	kshûi-am		khân-am	
	kshôn-am		khûd-am	
	kshông		khiedhj	
heart . . .	püzûv		zârd	
heart (metaph.), mind . . .	dîl		dîl	P.
a hearth, a fire-place . . .	dildong		katsûr	
the heel . . .	posht, pâshnâh	P.	naburg, puknâh	P.
height, tallness . . .	qâd	A.	qâd	A.
height-sickness [from rarefaction of air] . . .	sudhgh		sûdhgh	
a hem . . .	parsîts		parasîts	
to hem . . .	namîl-n		dhafs dhâdao	
	namîl-am		&c.	
	namîld-am			
	namiletk			
hemp fibre [none grown] . . .	chigâ	T.	chigâ	T.
a hen . . .	strêi kôrk, makian		makian	
a herdsman . . .	shûpûn	P.	ghûbûn	P.
here! [interj.] . . .	inké		yamá	
here (adv.) . . .	dram, ha-dram		âud	
a hero, also a man "vir" . . .	mard	P.	chûrik	
high . . .	wuch		bilik, biland	P.
a hillock . . .	boq		béaq	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikolî.</i>	
hindmost . . .	sibàs-üng . . .	zabô-yenj	
hinge [wooden pins, revolving in a hole] . .	görj . . .	gargh	
the hip bone . . .	shunj sâr (lit. <i>side-head</i>)	khaun kâl	
on the hither side of (p.p.) . . .	_____ yem sâr . . .	_____ mi sâr	
on the hither side (adv.)	tram (<i>tar-yem</i>) pür . .	tar mi pur	
a hobble [for a horse's legs] . . .	kishôn . . .	T. kashân . . .	T.
a hoe . . .	kitmôn . . .	T. ketman . . .	T.
to hoe, to dig up . . .		chappârd-ao chappâr-am chappârd-am chappârdj	
a hog . . .	khüg . . .	khaug . . .	P.
a hole, an aperture . .	sêrv . . .	dârz . . .	P.
hollow . . .	kuwok . . .	kâwuk . . .	? T.
the hollow of the hand .	pun		
a hoof [of a horse] . .	süm . . .	P. süm . . .	P.
a cloven hoof . . .	shilch . . .	khalzâk	
to hop (<i>to fly</i>) . . .	rawez-n rawez-am rawezd-am rawazetk . . .	rawikht-ao rawâz-am rawükhht-am rawükhtj . . .	
a horn . . .	shao . . .	khao . . .	
hornless . . .	kâl . . .	kâl . . .	
a horse . . .	yâsh . . .	vurj . . .	
to put on horseback . .	sowâr khâk . . .	P. W. suvûr cheigao . .	P. S.
horse-clothing . . .	prigîn . . .	parwein . . .	
a horseman, a rider . .		vurjîn . . .	
a horse shoe . . .	nâl . . .	nâl . . .	A.
hospitality . . .	memandâri . . .	memâni . . .	P.
hot . . .	shùndr . . .	zûrm . . .	? P.
to become hot . . .	to v wâtsn . . .	tuv setao . . .	
a house [built with flat roofs, a hole in the centre of the ceiling for smoke, and raised daïs round the walls .	khhun . . .	P. chêd . . .	
a household, <i>also</i> quarters, a camp . . .	qosh . . .	T. keshûm, kushum . .	T.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
a household slave	khâna zâd	.	khâna zâd	
how, <i>also</i> what like?	tsa-kum-an	.	az ka	P. S.
how?	tsa rang	W. P.	tsa rang	S. P.
how many, how much	tsum	.	tsund	P.
to howl, to bay together	varüi-n	.	varaud-ao	
(as dogs)	varüy-am	.	varau-am	
	varoid-am	.	varüd-am	
	varüyetk	.	varaudj	
a (camel's) hump	kap	.	kiep	
hump-backed	düw	.	cheng	
a hundred	sad	P.	sad	P.
hungry	marz	.	marzânj, marzun	
to be <i>or</i> become hungry	marz wâtsn	.	marzânj set-ao	
hunting, sport	shkâr	P.	gièw	
a husband	shawar	P.	chur	? P.
a hut	ktich	.	garma	

I.

I (pron.)	wuz, <i>also</i> am [see Gram.]	waz, <i>also</i> am [see Gram.]	
an ibex	yuksh	yakh, <i>also</i> rüsht ghüej,	"red deer"
female, ditto	vazik tugh	ghüej vâz	
	(<i>deer goat</i>)	(<i>deer goat</i>)	
ice	yikh	P. shtu	
idea	yâd (<i>recollection</i>)	P. yôd	P.
idle, lazy	kalgi tserâk-küzg	vanao kün	S. P.
ill	bimâr	P. bemûr	P.
ill-advised, who will not			
take counsel	nazakhht	nâghukht	
illness	bimâri	P. bemâri	P.
to impinge, to brush			
against	shtrakh-n	turft-ao	
	shtrakh-am	turf-am	
	shtrakht-am	turft-am	
	shtrakhetk	turfj	
in	pa _____,	pa _____, — darün	
incomplete	chelâ	T. chelâ	T.
Indian-corn (not grown			
in W. and S.)	konâk	T. konâk	T.
an infant, a child	zah	bachah	P.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>
in order to . . .	ar . . .	ar
inside . . .	pa ——— döst	—pa darün, pa—darün
to intend, to resolve . . .	kasd khäk . . .	A. W. kasd cheigao A. S.
interest, usury . . .	jazânâh . . .	jazânâh A. T.
the interior . . .	döst . . .	dârün P.
intermixedly . . .	niër . . .	aralâsh T.
(interrogative affix) . . .	à . . .	â
to introduce, to bring <i>or</i>		
take in, to cause to		
enter . . .	chirmüv-n . . .	duwâst-ao
	chermüv-am . . .	duwâdh-am
	chermovd-am . . .	duwüst-am
	chermüvetk . . .	duwüstj
iron . . .	ishn . . .	spin
cast iron . . .	chuyün . . .	chuyün T.
an island in the midst of		
a stream . . .	jingalak . . .	P. arâlchâh T.
to isolate . . .	wîr khäk . . .	iw'j cheigao
to itch . . .	gorosh tserâkk . . .	dhjokhht-ao dhjokhh-am dhjekhht-am dhjekhhtj
J.		
a jackdaw . . .	taghanak . . .	târ taghanâk
jade-stone . . .	kâsh-ghâr . . .	T. W. kâsh-tâshi T.
a jar, a large cup . . .	pîl . . .	chenâk
the lower jaw . . .	zanâkhh . . .	zangân
to be jealous . . .	arish khäk . . .	arish cheig-ao
jealousy . . .	arish . . .	arish
to jog . . .	daḡüv-n . . .	wakucht-ao
	daḡüv-am . . .	wakoch-am
	daḡovd-am . . .	wakucht-am
	daḡüvetk . . .	wakuchtj
to join, to unite . . .	katti khäk . . .	katti cheig-ao
a joint, a soldering . . .	kafshir . . .	kafkheir P.
a joint, articulation . . .	band . . .	band P.
a joke, a jest . . .	shtik . . .	
to jostle . . .	sukh-n . . .	bezeid-ao
	sukh-am . . .	bazîs-âm
	sokht-am . . .	bazeid-am
	sukhetk . . .	bazedhj

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
K.				
Kâshghar	Kâshkhhâr		Koshkhhâr	
to keep, to hold [to seize]	wadhûr-an		wadhord-ao	
the kernel of a fruit				
stone	serk		rukchi mâghz	Y. P.
a key	shik		âchghu	T.
to kick	lûch ding		lûch dhâdao	
a kid	chôgh		ghêrv	
a kidney	welk		arwits	
to kill, to slay	shâ-in		zed-ao	
	shây-am, shî-t		zân-am, zînd	
	shitt-am		zed-am	
	shittk		zûdhj	
a Kirghiz tent	khhirgâh	P.	khhergòh	P.
to kiss	bâ tserâk		bâ cheigao	
a kite [bird]	tsâr		tsârgh*	
the knee	brîn		zùn	P.
to kneel	sak brîn niüdhn		chû zùn nalist-ao	
			châr zùn nalist-ao	
a knife	köz		chòg	
a knot	zerâkh		zerekh	
to knot	zerâkh ——— ding (to			
	strike &c.)		zerekh — dhâd-ao	
	—— diam		dhâ-m	
	—— dikht-am		dhâd-am	
	—— dietk		dhâdj	
to know	dish-an		wazând-ao, &c. . . .	
	dish-am			
	disht-am			
	dishetk			
L.				
child-bearing labour	zicha		zichâ	
a ladder	wakhâr		shattâ	T.
a lady	khhanzâh		khhanzôh	
a lake, a pool	kâl	T.	kaul	T.
a lamb	wurk		barâ	

* Probably for *chargh* P., which has in Wakhi become contracted, by the loss of the final guttural, to *tsâr*. In the Yârkandî name *sâ* for a kite, we probably have the same Persian word in a form contracted to a still further extent by the loss of the final *r* (which the Yârkandîs are apt to omit in many of their words), and by the alteration of the Persian *ch* which becomes *ts* in the Ghalchah dialects and simple *s* in Yârkand. The series of corruptions (*chargh*, *tsârgh*, *tsâr*, *sâ*) is so natural as to suggest the idea that the Yârkandîs obtained this Persian word through their Ghalchah neighbours.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikolî.</i>	
lamb-skin . . .	wurk pist . . .	zer bàst	
lame . . .	làng . . .	làng	P.
lamentation . . .	wagh wagh		
a lamp . . .	chirâgh . . .	tsirao	P.
large, big . . .	lup . . .	laur	
a lark [bird] . . .	turghai . . .	T. turghâi	T.
last year . . .	pard . . .	? P. parwus	
of last year . . .	pard-üng . . .	parwus-enj	
lasting, strong . . .	pürdâsht . . .	P. pâinug	P.
late [adv.] . . .	dhösh . . .	déir	P.
late, recent . . .	yând-üng . . .	ingom-enj	
lately . . .	yând . . .	ingom	
to laugh . . .	kand-âk . . .	shînd-ao	
	kand-am . . .	shând-am	
	kandi-am . . .	shînd-am	
	kandetk . . .	shîndj	
laughable . . .	kandâk-asok . . .	shînd-asuk	
lazy, slow . . .	gahal . . .	A. kashâng	T.
lead [metal] . . .	sûrb . . .	P. kurgashim	T.
to lead . . .		kutal cheig-ao	
a leaf [of a tree] . . .	palch . . .	pork (<i>barg</i> P.)	
lean, emaciated . . .	khât . . .	khut	
to lean against . . .	pütrüz-n . . .	padrâzd-ao	
	pütrüz-am . . .	padrâz-am	
	pâtrâz-am . . .	padrâzd-am	
	pütrüzetk . . .	padrâz dj	
to learn . . .	yekhk wâtsn . . .	ikhman setao	
leather (not tanned but rubbed soft) . . .	gardagi . . .	P. parkhao	
leave, permission, reply, answer . . .	juwâb . . .	juwùb	P.
left [hand] . . .	châp . . .	châp	P.
left-handed . . .	châpaki . . .	châpaki	
	châp dhast		
leg, foot . . .	püdh . . .	pedh	
——— (an animal's)	lông . . .	lang	P.
the leg below the knee . . .	mashin lang . . .	mishin lang	
	pâichâh . . .	pâichâh	P. Y.
a white leopard, an ounce	pös, babr A. . .	pis	
less (adv.) . . .	dzâk-tar . . .	dzül-dîr	
to let go, (to put down)	latsar-an		
a lever . . .	khirs . . .	âram	? P.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>
to lick . . .	likh-n . . .	dhikt-ao
	likh-am . . .	dhok-am
	likht-am . . .	dhikt-am
	likhetk . . .	dhiktj
a lid or cover of a sauce-pan . . .	gâsh-gin . . .	naghâk
a lie, an untruth . . .	durogh . . .	P. fând P.
to lie in ambush . . .	mâlîsh tserâk . . .	sord-ao
		sur-am
		surd-am
		surdj
to lie down, to lie . . .	nasü-n . . .	alid-ao
	nâsî-am, nîsî-t . . .	alâs-am, alist
	nast-am . . .	alüid-am
	nasetk . . .	alüidj
to cause to lie down, to lay down . . .	nüsiüv-n . . .	aleizând-ao, &c.
	nüsiüv-am	
	nôsiovd-am	
	nüsiüvetk	
to lift, to raise . . .	wuch tserâk . . .	tèr cheigao
light (in weight), also fast (of a horse) . . .	rânjik . . .	rindz
light-coloured (of eyes). . .	chakir . . .	chakar
light, radiance . . .	voin . . .	vôin
to lighten, (lightning) . . .	bârkhh ding . . .	bârkhh dhâdao
lightning . . .	bârkhh . . .	bârkhh A.
like that, so, . . .	hazi, nik-hazi . . .	nikdâs
—— like . . .	—— râng . . .	—— râng P.
a line, a score . . .	chirgh . . .	chighîr
to line, to cover a garment, &c. with stuff . . .	tâsh khshâk . . . T. W.	tâsh tîzd-ao T. S.
to draw a line, to score . . .	chirgh khash-an . . .	chighîr tîzd-ao
	—— khash-am . . .	—— tâz-am
	—— khasht-am . . .	—— tîzd-am
	—— khashetk . . .	—— tîzdj
linseed, flax (<i>none grown</i>) . . .	zaghîr . . .	zaghîr T.
a lip . . .	lafch, lav . . .	pâuz
to listen, to give ear . . .	ghish kaṭ-âk . . .	ghaul wedhd-ao
	—— kâṭ-am . . .	—— wedh-am
	—— kârt-am . . .	—— wedhd-am
	—— katetk . . .	—— wedhdj

	<i>Wakhí.</i>	<i>Sarikóli.</i>
little, small . . .	dzaklái . . .	dzül
a little, little (adv.) . . .	dzák . . .	dzül
a very little morsel . . .	timik safk . . .	dund kík
the liver . . .	jigàr . . .	P. thùd
a load . . .	vür . . .	wez
to load . . .	vür. khàk . . .	dhàkht-ao dherz-am dhàkht-am dhàkhtj
locality, a place. . .	jài . . .	jài P.
to lodge, to put up (intr.), to pass the night . . .	shub'r hâlâk . . .	reid-ao
to cause to lodge, to give a night's lodging, to put up (tr.) . . .	shub'r diivn . . .	khab-ar reizând-ao —— reizân-am —— reizând-am —— reizândj
a log of wood . . .	kündâh . . .	kündâh P.
long . . .	vorz	
as long as, as far as, till, during . . .	—— batkan . . .	—— its, tâ —— its
longing, desire . . .	awàs . . .	awàs
to look, to look after . . .	didig-n . . . didig-am . . . didigd-am . . . didigetk . . .	chükht-ao châs-am chükt-am chükhtj
to look after, to watch . . .	nigah tseràk . . .	P. W. nigah cheig-ao P. S.
loose, wide . . .	faràkh . . .	P. rün
to loose . . .	wüshe-in wüsh-am washin-am wüshetk	
to lose . . .	nüs-an . . . nüs-am . . . nâst-am . . . nüsetk . . .	binâst-ao binâs-am binâst-am binâstj
to be lost, to disappear . . .	nash-àk . . . nâsh-am . . . nâsh-t-am . . . nashetk . . .	beid-ao { bis-am bâst beid-am bedhj

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikol.</i>
to lose the way .	rapats-an .	nalkhhid-ao
	rapits-am } .	nalkhhau-am
	rapats-t } .	nalkhhüd-am
	rapagn-am .	nalkhhüd-hj
	rapàkhk .	
to cause to lose the way,		
to mislead .	rapetsüv-an .	nalkhawând-ao
	rapetsüv-am .	&c.
	rapetsovd-am	
	rapetsüvetk	
a louse .	shish .	? P. spâl
love .	yurung (?)	
to love, (to kiss)	bâ tserâk .	bâ cheigao
lucerne grass .	wujerk .	bedà T.
lukewarm .	narm .	P. shilet
lungs .	shush .	P. sül
M.		
a mace .	gürz .	gürz P.
to macerate, to powder .	dhükhn .	yüg-ao
	dhükh-am .	yân-am
	dhokht-am .	yüg-am
	dhüketk .	yügj
a cotton-cleaning ma-		
chine .	chighariḱ .	T. chighariḱ T.
mad, a madman .	liw .	dhèw
madder (<i>subst.</i>) .	urudân .	araden
a magpie .	karjöpeh .	kargopch
a maid, a virgin .	pür-chodh .	P. gâts
maimed .	shâl .	shâl
to make, to do .	khâk, gokh-an .	cheigao
	{ gokh-am, gô-m .	{ kan-am
	{ gokh-t .	{ kakh-t (3rd sing.)
		{ ka-it (2 pl.)
	gokht-am .	chaug-am
	khetsk .	chaugj
to make, to construct .	sâz khâk .	P. W. suz cheigao P. S.
to make equal (in height)	rür-an .	rord-ao
	rür-am .	ròr-am
	rord-am .	rord-am
	rüretk .	rordj
male .	ghösch .	nièr

*Wakhé.**Sarikolî.*

a mallet	kütum	petgál, kutum	
a man "vir," also a hero	dhài	churik	
a man of Yarkand	Yàrkandi	khàri (<i>viz.</i> shahri, a townsman)	
a manger	zaràkhùr	P. àkhùr	P.
the mane (of a horse)	yâl	yâl	T.
a mantilla (woman's)	chíl	khâdhbun	
many, much	ghafch	hûch	
how many? how much?	tsum	tsund	P.
a march, a migration	kuch	P. kach	P.
a mare	madhagh	vorz	
a married man, a master of a household	ketkhhudâh	P. ketkhhudâh	P.
marrow	sèrk	mużg	
a marsh (<i>see</i> mud)	khhötin	ghâtin	
massive, thick	bâj	divèz	
a master	sâyib	A. sâhib	A.
to masticate, to munch	mâk-an	zghâd-ao	
	mâk-am	zghau-am	
	mâkt-am	zghod-am	
	mâketk	zghodhj	
matter, pus	chirk	P. ghònd	
mean, sordid	badh-tap (? bad tabi'at P.)	ghâzd	
a measure of capacity	pîmanâ	P. paimanâ	P.
to measure	chòk khàk or tseràk	chòk cheig-ao	
meat	gusht	P. gükht	P.
medicine, a drug	dârü	P. dâri	P.
to meet, to encounter	dichâr dîng	dichâr dhâd-ao	
to melt (<i>intr.</i>)	âb wâtsn	ûb setao	P. S.
memory, recollection	yâd	P. yûd	P.
a merchant, a rich man	bâi	T. bâi	T.
merciful-hearted	khhatîr bin	P. khhatîr bin	P.
a merlin (hawk)	turungtai	T. turungtai	T.
midday meal	châsht	P. tsukht	
the midst, the middle	malung	madhân	
middle (<i>adj.</i>), intermediate	malung-üng	madhân-enj, madhân-sedhj	
milk	zarz	khevd	
thick milk (shortly after calving)	pikh	râthch	

	<i>Wakhí.</i>		<i>Sariqolí.</i>	
to milk	dhíts-n		dhaud-ao	
	dhíts-am		dhaus-am	
	dhögn-am		dhaud-am	
	dhökhk		dhaudj	
to give milk freely (of a cow or goat to which the young one is shown)	ravir khák		ravèr cheigao	
a mill	khadhòrg		khadhòrj	
a funnel-shaped feeder of a mill	dûr		skaun	
to mimic	püt müi-n		pardhíd-ao	
	— müi-am		pardhau-am	
	— moid-am		pardhüd-am	
	— müietk		pardhedhj	
to mince, to cut up	chup-n		khevdao	
	chup-am		kheib-am	
	chavd-am		khevd-am	
	chefk		khevdj	
mind, heart	püzúv, díl P. . . .		díl	P.
a mine	kân	P.	kûn	P.
mirage (shadow ?)	sâyâ		suyâ	? P.
a miser	kumus		bakhhil	A.
to mislead, to cause to lose the way	rapetsüv-n		nalkhawând-ao	
	rapetsüv-am		&c. . . .	
	rapetsovd-am			
	rapetsüvetk			
to mix, to compound	shind-àk		khhirkht-ao	
	shând-am		khbirkh-am	
	shândid-am		khhirkht-am	
	shöndetk		khhirkhtj	
month	mûi		mâs	
<i>Money.</i> —There is no coinage; that of neighbouring countries is sometimes found, but barter is the usual mode of transacting business, coarse pieces of Yarkand cloth being the standard of value (in dealing with the Kirghiz, grain is the standard). Grain and cattle are cheaper in Wakhân than in Sariqol, or rather Yarkand cloth is dearer in the former place.				
moon	jümâk		mâs	
more	yât			
moreover, again	wâz	P.	wûz	P.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
early in the morning	naghdin	.	pigàn, pigàn-ath	P.
the morning meal	pizvàn	.	pakhik	
the Morning Star	karwàn kùsh (<i>caravan killer</i>)	P.	yaulàn zàk (<i>dawn star ?</i>)	
a mosquito	pthû	.	pasha	P.
a moth	parwânâ	P.	parwânâ	P.
a moth (that eats cloth)	wich	.	kuwâh	
mother	nân	.	anâ	T.
mother-in-law	khâsh	.	khhekhkh	
a mound, hillock	bok	.	béak	
a mountain	koh	P.	téij	
a mountain stream	jirâv yupk	P. W.	darâh khâts	P. S.
to mount, to go up or out	nawûz-an	.	nakhtid-ao	
a mouse	pürk	.	pürg	
moustache	shâpâr	.	bürüt	T.
a mouth	ghâsh	.	ghov	
to move, to shift (intr.)	töch-n töch-am töcht-am töchetk	.	ķuzghâl set-ao	T.
to move, to shift (tr.)	tachüv-n tachüv-am tachovd-am tachüvetk	.	ķuzghamish cheigao	T.
much (full amount)	tķi	.	pür	P.
so much, that much	a-tum	.	dund	
thus much, or many	ma-tum	.	mund	
mud, clay	khhöt	.	ghât	
music	sâz	P.	sâz	P.
to make music	sâz khâk	P. W.	sâz cheig-ao	P. S.
a musical instrument	doriâ	T?	naghmâ	P.
musk	mushk	P.	mukhk	P.
a mussuk (goat skin)	dhotsk	.	ambân	
a small do. (kid skin)	pitvar	.	jagbist	
mustard	ķichi	Y.	ķichi	Y.
	zarghun*	.	zarghun	
N.				
naked, bare	shilâkh, chand	.	chalendâk	

* Perhaps this is the origin of the Yarkandi word *zaghun* (by the elision of the *r* common in that dialect—rather than *vice versa*).

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>
name	nung	P. nâm P.
a napkin, a handkerchief	rîmâl	P. réimâl P.
narrow, tight	tang	P. tong P.
narrower, tighter	tang-tar	P. tong-dèr P.
the navel	nof	P. vanuj
near (adv.)	schikh . . . .	. nizd P.
near, by (p.p.)	da ——— schikh	. ——— khez
necessaries	lâzimi . . . .	. lâzimi P.
necessary, needful	lâzim . . . .	. lâzim P.
	dar kâr	P. dar kûr P.
the neck	gardhân	P. gardhân P.
a needle	sits . . . .	. sits
a packing needle	jual-duz . . . .	. jual-duz P.
a neighbour	'am-sâya	P. keshni T.
a nephew	khilian . . . .	. . . .
a nest	yoth . . . .	. rôz
to net (to lay a net)	tor râst khâk . . . .	. tur rust cheigao
to net (stitch) [<i>see</i> to plait]. . . .	parwuf-n . . . .	. parwiftao
	parwuf-am . . . .	. parwâf-am
	parwâft-am . . . .	. parwift-am
	parwufetk . . . .	. parwiftj
new, fresh	schögd, tâzâh P. . . .	. nüj, tuzâh P. . . .
news	khavar	P. khavar P.
to give news	khavar katâk . . . .	. khavar wedh-ao
	—— kât-am . . . .	. ——— weidh-am
	—— kârt-am . . . .	. ——— wedhd-am
	—— katetk . . . .	. ——— wedhdj
night	naghd . . . .	. khâb (<i>shab</i>) P.
a night-spectre that eats people, a night-mare	vâghd' . . . .	. vòid
nine	nào . . . .	. nèw
ninetieth	toksanao	T. toksanao T.
ninety	toksan	T. toksan T.
ninth	nâwao . . . .	. nèwao
no	nèi . . . .	. nài
a noise, a cry	awâgh	P. awuj P.
	sedâ	A. sherfâ P.
noon	madhûr . . . .	. madhor (? madhân rwâr)
a nose	mis . . . .	. nâz

*Wakhi.**Sarikoli.*

a nose bag . . .	tüfrâh . . .	P.	tüfrâh	
not . . .	na, ma <i>with Imperative</i> .		na, ma (<i>Imp.</i>)	
there is not, is not . . .	nâst . . .		nist	P.
now, at this very time .	niv, ha-niv . . .			
O.				
an oath . . .	kasam . . .		kasam	A.
to obtain, to arrive at .	got-an . . .		vîg-ao	
	gòt-am . . .		varé-am	
	gòtt-am . . .		vüg-am	
	gotetk . . .		vügj	
odd, not even . . .	tâk . . .		tûk	T.
odour, smell, scent .	vûl . . .		bào	
to offer, to present .	rür-an &c. . .		ròrd-ao, &c.	
a high official . . .	sardâr . . .	P.	sardâr	P.
old . . .	khhiyar . . .		keno (kohnah)	P.
an old man . . .	bâbâ pîrak . . .	P.	abushkâ	T.
an old woman . . .	kampîr . . .	P.	kampîr	P.
on . . .	sak — an, — tsusk, pür		chü —, — indêr	
one . . .	iw, î . . .		iw, î	
one-another . . .	iman (? <i>for</i> î-yem-an “one with this one”)		i-mi'r (<i>one to this one</i>)	
one by one . . .	ighân ighân . . .		igân igân	P.
wild onions . . .	karilghân . . .		karilghân	
open . . .	hõt . . .		hât	
to open . . .	hõt tserâk . . .		hât cheigao	
opposite . . .	ruparu . . .		rubaru	P.
oppressed, humble . .	vardhâkhk . . .		vizedhj	
order, (goodness) . .	bâfi . . .		charji	
to order, to command	raméi-n . . .		ramâd-ao	
	{ rami-am . . .		{ rami-am	
	{ rîmi-t . . .		{ ramâ-id	
	römött-am . . .		ramôd-am	
	rametk . . .		ramôdhj	
orderly (good) . . .	bâf . . .		charj	
a personal ornament .	sátk . . .		safs	
the os coccygis . . .	dzogdzogh . . .		dzugzugh	
an otter . . .	kanâ . . .	Y.	kanâ	Y.
an ounce, a white leo-				
pard . . .	pôs . . .		pis	
outcry, proclamation .	wagh . . .			
outside (adj.) . . .	vich-ung . . .		vâch-enj	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
outside of (prep.) .	tsa — vich .	az — tar vach	
outside (adv.) .	tar vich .	tar vach	
to overflow .	nörösh ding .	tër dhâd-ao	
to overtake .	gat-âk .	frebt-ao	
	gât-am .	fròbs-am	
	gâti-am .	fribt-am	
	gatetk .	fribtj	
to overthrow, throw down, (a wall &c.) .	büt-an .	imbat-ao	
	büt-am .	imbat-am	
	bott-am .	imbatt-am	
	bütetk .	imbatj	
the Ovis Poli .	vroksh .	rus	
—— female .	marg .		
an owl .	küm .	küm	
an ox .	druksh .	khej	
P.			
pace .	wéyâu .	wéyâu	
	tuk .	tîd	
well paced, fast .	wéyâwîn .	wéyâwîn	
a paddle .	péi .	féi	
a padlock .	schik .	kûlf	P.
a pail (wooden) .	talào .	tâlâ	
to feel pain, <i>also</i> to be angry .	riž-an .	dhizd-ao	
	riž-am .	dhiz-am	
	rižd-am .	dhizd-am	
	rižetk .	dhizdj	
a pair .	jaft .	jüft	P.
a paling .	chit .	kushum	
a panier .	? var .		
a parasol .	chatr .	chatr	P.
to parch <i>or</i> roast grain	varesh-n .	virzd-ao	
	varesh-am .	virz-am	
	varesh-t-am .	virzd-am	
	vareshetk .	virz dj	
parched grain ground into meal. Hind.,			
“sattu” .	pöst .	pâkht	P.
parti-coloured .	dhard .	T. chièl	
a partner .	ambâz-kar .	P. urtâk-chi	T.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>
a partridge (<i>Caccabis pallidus</i> . Hume.)	chkör . . .	zaredz
a pass (over mountains)	wiyin . . .	? weyawun ?
to pass through, over, or by; to ford, to traverse, to pass by a fault, to let pass (one's rights)	shökhhs-n . . . shökhhs-am . . . shökhhs-t-am . . . shökhhs-setk . . .	narjèd-ao { narjès-am nàrjas-t narjèd-am narjüdjhj
to cause to pass by	shökhhsüv-n . . . shökhhsüv-am . . . shökhhssovd-am . . . shökhhsövetk . . .	narzàmbànd-ao narzàmbân-am narzàmbànd-am narzàmbàndj
a passer-by	shökhhsn-küzg . . .	narjèd-ichôz
a pasture (<i>see</i> grass)	wushin . . .	wukhin
a patch (in a garment)	pshin . . .	psaun
a path, a road	vadhak . . .	pând
patient	poi-nâg . . . shov . . .	poi-nuk P. shuv T.
pay, wages	mazd . . .	muzd P.
peas	shâkh . . .	mâkh
to peck	nüchk ding . . .	nüsk dhâdao
a peg, a nail	mekhh . . .	makhh P.
perception, cognizance	darak . . .	darak P.
to perforate	serv khâk . . .	dârz cheigao
a person	khhalg . . .	A. khhalg A.
perspiration	khil, arâk A. . .	khaidh
to perspire	arâk tserâk . . .	khaidh vasid-ao
a snow pheasant (<i>Tetrao- gallus tibetanus</i>)	khörz . . .	tsatsà
a piece, a portion	chut . . .	kônd, ghor
in pieces (adv.)	chut chut . . .	kônd kônd
to pierce, to split (tr.)		chafand-ao chafan-am chafand-am chafandj
a pig	khüg . . .	P. khâug P.
a pigeon	kibit . . .	P. chabâud

*Wakhi.**Sarikoli.*

to pile up, to make up					
a fire	.	yâdh-n	.	rakhid-ao	
		yâdh-am	.	rakhi-am	
		yâdht-am	.	rakhid-am	
		yâdhetk	.	rakhedhj	
a pillow	.	balesh	.	balâkh	
		khaval			
to pinch	.	chüch-an	.	tsirambd-ao	
		chüch-am	.	tsiram-b-am	
		chocht-am	.	tsirambd-am	
		chüchetk	.	tsirambdj	
pink	.	âl	T.	ûl	T.
a pit	.	gilets	.	kàrs	
a pitcher	.	lut	.	let	
a pitch-fork	.	bun	.	skàun	
a place, locality	.	jài	P.	jâi	P.
a place covered with stones, like a moraine		ghor	.	ķurum	T.
a watering place	.	yupk jài	W. P.	khökh-tuj	
a plague	.	ghumâr (? for <i>ghubâr</i> "vapour" A.)	.	kasal	
a plain (in an angle of a river)	.	toķá	.	toķai	T.
to plait, to weave	.	wuf-n	.	wift-ao	
		wuf-am	.	waf-am	
		woft-am	.	wift-am	
		wufetk	.	wiftj	
to plaster	.	lawàk khàk	.	lawàk cheigao	
a platform or raised ground	.	ràz	.	nokhh	
to please	.	khkhush khàk	P. W.	khkhush cheigao	P. S.
to be pleased with	.	lâik khak	A. W.	yerâr cheig-ao (? T.)	S.
a plough	.	spundr	.	spur	
a plunderer	.	karakchi	T.	alamûn	T.
a plundering raid	.	gharât	P.	bûlân	T.
to plunge, to dip oneself	.	ghot yit-n	P. W.	ghüt khig-ao	P. S.
a pocket	.	yijib	? P.	yenjièk	T.
a poem, poetry	.	makâm-i-bàit	A.	makûm-i-béit	A.
a point	.	mis (<i>nose</i>)	.	nàul	
to poke	.	farnets ding	.	ket dhâdao	

&c.

&c.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
a police official	mir-shab	P.	ḡurbāshi	T.
a pool			kaul	T.
poor, indigent	nâ-murâd	P. A.	nâ-murâd	P. A.
a poplar	tirak		tirāk	T.
	toghrāk		toghrāk	T.
posteriors	tamshîn			
potash	shaḡor		shakhhor	P.
to pound (into powder)	pâlm khâk		pâdhm cheig-ao	
to pound, to beat	chûk-n		chakt-ao	
	chûk-am		chak-am	
	chûkt-am		chakt-am	
	chûketk		chaktj	
to pour	kat-âk		wièdh-d-ao	
	kât-am		&c.	
	kârt-am			
	katetk			
to powder, to macerate	dhûkh-n		yüg-ao	
	dhûkh-am		yân-am	
	dhòkht-am		yüg-am	
	dhûketk		yügj	
power, strength	küch		küch	T.
powerful, strong	küchîn		küchîn	T.
small-pox	spragh (<i>flower</i>)		gûl (<i>flower</i>)	P.
to praise	sto-an <i>or</i> sitao-an		stâud-ao	
	sto-am <i>or</i> sitao-am		stâu-am	
	stod-am <i>or</i> sitaod-am		stâud-am	
	stowetk <i>or</i> sitaotk		stâudj	
precipitous	parian		pariend	
pregnant (of women)	dijân		garim pûi	
„, with young (of animals)	varenj		varinz	
prepared, ready	shâi		shâi	T.
presence	prût, shikh		prod, prut, khez	
a present, a keep-sake	samghot		samghut	? P.
to present, to offer, (to extend)	rür-an		ròrd-ao	
	rür-am		ròr-am	
	rort-am		ròrd-am	
	rûretk		ròrdj	
to press, to grasp	trânj-an		waghraḡht-ao	
	trânj-am		waghreíg-am	
	trânjd-am		waghraḡht-am	
	tràkhkh		waghraḡhtj	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
to press down . . .	vardhenz-n . . .		vizîd-ao . . .	
	vardhenz-am . . .		vizin-am, vizan-d . . .	
	vardhegn-am . . .		vizîd-am . . .	
	vardhâkhk . . .		vizedhj . . .	
price . . .	wagh . . .			
to prick, to stab . . .	khhalâ ding . . .	P. W.	khhallâ dhâdao . . .	P. S.
to prick its ears (of a horse) . . .	kûrr khâk . . .		kûrr cheigao . . .	
print (chintz) . . .	chit . . .		chit . . .	(? English)
a proclamation . . .	suran . . .	T.	ulam . . .	A.
to profit, to affect, to stain . . .	nadhevs-an . . .		nâdhevd-ao . . .	
	nadhevs-am . . .		{ nâdhivs-am . . .	
	nadhevd-am . . .		{ nâdhavs-t . . .	
	nadhâfk . . .		nâdhevd-am . . .	
			nâdhevdj . . .	
a prop, a support . . .	takiâ . . .	A.	baleik . . .	
to prop . . .	takiâ diin (ding) . . .		baleik dhâdao . . .	
propitious (right-hand) . . .	râst . . .		khheiz . . .	
to be prostrated, to be exhausted . . .	sest wâtsn . . .		süst setao . . .	
to prove, to try . . .	âzmud tserâk . . .	P.	âznüd cheigao . . .	P.
a proverb, a tale . . .	zindâg . . .		saug . . .	
provisions, supplies . . .	zâu . . .		zâu . . .	
to pucker up, to become puckered . . .	ghört wâtsn . . .		wikhj setao . . .	
to pull, to draw (in several senses), viz. to drag, to draw lines, also to pull tobacco, i. e. to smoke, also to transport . . .	hash-âk . . .	P.	tizd-ao . . .	
	khâsh-am . . .		tâz-am . . .	
	khâsht-am . . .		tizd-am . . .	
	hashetk . . .		tizdj . . .	
the pulse . . .	yerr . . .		rûj . . .	
a puppy . . .	skön . . .		chukhh . . .	
to purge . . .	wânj ding . . .		darûn det-ao . . .	
to pursue, to follow . . .	zatran khâk . . .		zatran cheig-ao . . .	
pus, matter . . .	chirk . . .	P.	ghònd . . .	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>
to put, to place	latsér-n . . . latser-am . . . lakart-am . . . lakartk . . .	lachéig-ao lak-am lachaug-am lchaugj
to put by	bösh diiv-n . . . — diiv-am . . . — diôvd-am . . . — diivetk . . .	bakh dhaïând-ao — dhaïân-am — dhaïând-am — dhaïândj
to put on (clothes), to dress (oneself)	pamets-an . . . { pamets-am . . . pamest . . . pamagn-am . . . pamakhk . . .	pameig-ao { paméz-am { pamiz-d pamaug-am pamaugj
to put on horseback	sowâr khâk	P. W. suwûr cheigao P. S.
to put in pieces, to di- vide small	zest khâk . . .	rezâh cheig-ao
to put up (intr.), to lodge, to pass the night	shub'r hâlâk . . .	khâb-ar réid-ao
to cause to put up, to give a night's lodging	shub'r diivn . . .	khâb-ar réizând-ao — réizân-am — réizând-am — réizândj
to put in the proper place, to set in order,	sak jâi latsarn . . . — latsar-am . . . — lakart-am . . . — lakartk . . .	chü jâi lacheig-ao — lak-am — lachaug-am — lchaugj
to putrify, to rot	pitk wâtsn . . .	pîd-ao pây-am püd-am pedhj
Q.		
a quagmire . . .	ghót . . . shinâp . . .	ghât ghât-în
a quail . . .	wolch . . .	badanâh
to quake . . .	tap-n . . . tap-am tapt-am tapetk	malikqas cheigâo
a quarrel, a tumult	ghâsh . . .	ghâsh

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>
to quarrel	ghàsh katàk . .	ghàsh wedhdao
a quarrelsome person . .	ghàsh katàk-küzg	ghàsh-kün
quarters, camp, also a household	qosh	T. kushüm T.
to quench one's thirst . .	takhhi shküdh-n	türi varàkht-ao
	—— shköñ-am	—— varàl-am
	—— shkönd-am	—— varàkht-am
	—— shköng.	—— varàkhtj
to quench another's thirst, to give to drink	takhhi shkadhüv-n	turi varàkhtánd-ao
	—— shkadhüv-am	—— varezân-am
	—— shkadhovd-am	—— varezând-am
	—— shkadhüvetk	—— varezândj
quickly	jald	P. jald P.
more quickly	jald-tar	P. jald-dër P.
quicksilver	sim-âv	P. sim-uv P.
to quiet, to appease . .	shov khàk	shuv cheigao
to become quiet	shov wâtsn	shuv setao
to quilt	sirekh khhashàk	siregh tizd-ao
R.		
radiance, light	vòin	vòin
a rag	lok	tsaul
rain	wür	waréij
a ram	ghösch màï	nier màul
	wâr	wiérn
to ram in	lüdhan	tambd-ao
	lüdham	tamb-am
	loht-am	tambd-am
	lüdhetk	tambdj
a rat or mouse	pürk	pürg
rations	sheilân	T. sheilân T.
a raven	shönd	khhèrn
a ravine, a gorge	dhôr	dhèr
	jirâv	darâh P.
a razor	tiêgh	P. pâki T.
to reach, to attain	parvain	bizeid-ao
to read, to say, to repeat	jöin	khòid-ao
ready of speech	ushyâr	P. chechân T.
to reap	drû-n	tsid-ao
	drâw-am, drît	tsèy-am
	drett-am	tsid-am
	dretk	tsedhj

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
the rear, the back part .	tsibàs .	.	zaboh	
to receive, to find, to				
obtain . . .	gòtāk .	.	vîg-ào	
	gòt-am .	.	varé-am	
	gòtt-am .	.	vüg-am	
	gotetk .	.	vügj	
to recognise . . .	pazdan .	.	padzând-ào	
	pazdan-am .	.	padzân-am	
	pazdand-am .	.	padzând-am	
	pazdanetk .	.	padzândj	
to recollect, to bring to				
mind . . .	tar yâd wüzüm-n	.	tar yûd veig-ao	
recollection, memory .	yâd .	P.	yûd	P.
to be reconciled, to be-				
come friends, .	âsht wâtsn	P. W.	ukht setao	P. S.
to recover (from illness)	séhat wâtsn	A. W.	séhat setao	A. S.
red . . .	sökr .	.	rüsht	
a reed . . .	kamish .	T.	kamush	T.
refuse . . .	repk .	.	akhlât	A.
regretful . . .	pûsheimân	P.	pûkhéimân	P.
reins . . .	jilao .	.	jilao	
related in the 1st degree				
(brothers german) .	vrütîn .	.	vrador	
a relation . . .	khish .	P.	khheikh	P.
to release, to free .	khhalàs khâk .	.	khhalûs cheigao	P.
to remain over . . .	bûsh ding .	.	bakh dhâd-ao	
to remain . . .	warech-n or wara-in	.	réid-ao	
	warich-am .	.	{ ris-am	
		.	{ ras-t	
	waregn-am .	.	reid-am	
	warekhg .	.	redhj	
a remainder . . .	kâr .	? T.	kûr	T.
a remedy . . .	chârâ .	P.	chârâ	P.
to remove, to cause to				
go away . . .	châwüv-n .	.	tadzând-ao	
	chawüv-am .	.	tadzân-am	
	chawovd-am .	.	tadzând-am	
	chawüvetk .	.	tadzândj	
renowned . . .	dangi .	.	dangi	? T.
a rest-house . . .	rabât .	T.	rabût	T.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
to retrovert, to force back	toṽ tseràk . . .	típt-ao tâb-am típt-am típtj	
to return, to turn back .	pshé-in . . .	wàzevd-ao	
	pshin-am, <i>or</i> { pshéw- am, pshit }	wàzevs-am	
	pshett-am . . .	wàzevd-am	
	pshetk . . .	wazevdj	
a social re-union . . .	mâilis . . .	A. mâilis	
to revolve, to rotate . . .	ghîr-an . . .	P. ghêrd-ao	
	ghîr-am . . .	ghîrs-am	
	ghîrd-am . . .	ghêrd-am	
	ghîretk . . .	ghêrdj	
to cause to revolve <i>or</i> rotate . . .	ghîriv-an . . .	gherând-ao	
	ghîriv-am . . .	ghêrân-am	
	ghîrovd-am . . .	ghêrând-am	
	ghîrivetk . . .	ghêrândj	
a rib . . .	pûrs . . .	pàlà	
rice in the husk (not grown in those valleys) . . .	shâl P., grûnj T.	shâl	P.
a rich man, a merchant .	bâi . . .	T. bâi	T.
to ride . . .	{ vidhé-in . . . vidhâw-am . . . vidhett-am . . . vidhetk . . . }	{ }	{ }
riding animal, a "mon- ture" . . .	wulâgh . . .	T. walugh	T.
a ridge . . .	kîr . . .	T. kîr	T.
right (hand), <i>hence suc- cessful, propitious, also</i> straight . . .	râst . . .	P. khheiz	
to set right . . .	bâf khâk . . .	rûst cheigao	
rind (of fruit) . . .	shpâk . . .	shûpâk	
a ring . . .	pulangusht . . .	P.	
to ring, to resound . . .	jiringàs khâk . . .	jîring cheig-ao	
to rinse (cups <i>or</i> clothes)	purû-n . . .	parod-ao	
	puru-am . . .	paro-am	
	pòrod-am . . .	parod-am	
	puruetk . . .	parodhj	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
to rip up a seam	riz-n	.	raod-ao	
	riz-am	.	raoz-am	
	rözd-am	.	raod-am	
	rizetk	.	raodj	
a river	daryâ	.	daryâ	P.
a river beach (gravel bed)	sangov	.	sangôv	
a road, a path	vadhak	.	pând	
to roast <i>or</i> parch grain,	varesh-n	.	virzd-ao	
to fry	varesh-am	.	virz-am	
	varesh-t-am	.	virzd-am	
	vareshetk	.	virzdj	
a fur robe	karast	.	warbân	
an outer robe	chapân	.	châpân	T.
a rod	shôpk	.	khëib	
to roll (intr.)	wul wâtsn	.	wul set-ao	
to roll (tr.)	wul tserâk	.	wul cheig-ao	
to roll up, to wind	zwaï-n	.	zerwid-ao	
	zwây-am	.	zerwey-am	
	zwett-am	.	zerwid-am	
	zwetk	.	zerwedhj	
a roller	ghaltak	P. ?	ghultak	P. ?
a root-filament	wâdhn	.	yildiz	T.
rope	shivan	.	vûkh	
to rot, to putrify	pitk wâtsn	.	pid-ao	
			pây-am	
			püd-am	
			pedhj	
rotten, putrid	pitk	.	pedhj	
round	peṭ	.	puṭ	
to rub, to stroke	dhast ding (to strike the hand)	.	dhüst dhâd-ao	
to rub to powder between the fingers	vizam-n	.	vizâmd-ao	
	vizam-am	.	vizâmb-am	
	vizamd-am	.	vizâmd-am	
	vizametk	.	vizâmdj	
to rub up (paint, &c.) in water	shündâk	.	shîpt-ao	
	shând-am	.	shâb-am	
	shânddi-am	.	shîpt-am	
	shündetk	.	shîptj	

	<i>Waḡhí.</i>		<i>Sariḡolí.</i>	
a rug	palàs	P.	palus	P.
to ruin, to spoil	wéirân tseràk		wéirun cheigao	P. S.
rumour, report	dang	T. ?	dong	T. ?
to run	göfs-an		zokht-ao	
	göfs-am		zôz-am	
	göfst-am		zokht-om	
	göfsetk		zokhtj	
a rush (kind of grass)	kirîr		shüdh	
rust	zangâr	P.	tot	

S.

a coarse sack	taghâr	T.	ghàun	
a saddle	pödhn		bidhân	
a saddle-bag . . . . .	. . . . .		khurjin	
sake	jinib		ivon	
saliva	tuf	T.	tü	T.
salt	nimak	P.	namadhj	P.
salt (adj.)	nimakîn		namadhjin	
this same, this very	ha-yem		nik-yam	
sand	leiwârch		chush	
to satiate	setk khâk		sèir chéigao	
satiated	setk		séir	P.
to be satiated	setk wâtsn		sèir setao	
savoury, sweet	khhuẏg		khkhèg	
a saw	harrâh		harrâh	P.
to say	khan-âk		levd-ao	
	khân-am		lev-am	
	khâtt-am		levd-am	
	khânetk		levdj	
to say (prayers), to read	jòin		khòid-ao	
	jòy-am		khûy-am	
	jòid-am		khòid-am	
	jòyetk		khòidj	
a scabbard, a sheath	nadhün		ghaluf	P.
a scar	tôfch, turtuk T.		tûfch, tartîk T.	
to scare away	pütrüm-n		padromd-ao	
	pütrümb-am		padromb-am	
	potrombd-am		padromd-am	
	pütrümetk		padromdj	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>
to score, to draw a line.	chirgh khàsh-an .	.	chighîr-tizd-ao
	—— khàsh-am .	.	—— tâz-am
	—— khàsh-t-am .	.	—— tizd-am
	—— khashetk .	.	—— tizdj
a scorpion . . .	khur prich .	.	shèr chèrm
	(donkey worm) .	.	(donkey worm)
to scratch . . .	chingâl diin (ding), also	.	changul dhâdao, also
	drûp-n .	.	chid-ao
	drûp-am .	.	châu-am
	dropt-am .	.	chüd-am
	drûpetk .	.	chüdjh
a scratch, a score, a line	chirgh .	.	chighîr
to scream, to lament .	wâgh-wâgh tserâk	.	wâgh-wâgh cheigao
the seat of honour (in a company) .	raz .	.	nokh
to stand security .	dastadâr wâtsn .	P. W.	kafil setào P. S.
to see, also to visit .	wing .	.	wând-ao
	wîn-am .	.	wéin-am
	wind-am .	.	wând-am
	winetk .	.	wândj
a seed . . .	taghm .	.	tôghm P.
to seek, to search .	shkûr-n .	.	khkéig-ao
	shkûr-am .	.	khkâr-am, khkîr-d
	shkûrd-am .	.	khkaug-am
	shkûretk .	.	khkaugj
seemly, worthy of being seen . . .	wing-asok .	.	wând-asuk
to seize, to grasp, to hold . . .	wadhûr-n .	.	wâdhord-ào
	wüdhûr-am .	.	wâdhôr-am
	wodhord-am .	.	wâdhord-am
	wüdhüretk .	.	wâdhordj
self . . .	(Nom.) khât .	.	khü
	(Gen.) khü .	.	
	(Dat.) khât-ar .	.	
	(the rest) khât .	.	
by one's self . . .		.	khü bath
to sell . . .	pürüng or pürün	.	para dhâdao
	püründ-am .	.	&c.
	pârâtt-am .	.	
	pürüt .	.	

	<i>Wakhí.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>
to select, to choose out.	lâyak khàk A. S., or yawern . yawar-am . yaward-am . yawaretk .	yarûr cheigao T. S. or sarid-ao sarâu-am sarüd-am saredhj
to send.	stüy-an or stüi-n stüy-am . statt-am . statk .	bókht-ao bôz-am bókht-am bókhtj
to send (a person), to order (to go)	raméin .	râmôd-ao
separate	jedhâh P., bulak T.	judhoh P.
a serpent, a snake	fuks .	tafûsk
to set in order, to put in the proper place	sak jâi latsarn —— latsar-am —— lakart-am —— lakartk	chü jâi lacheíg-ao —— lak-am —— lachaug-am —— lachaugj
seven	hüb	üvd
seventy	yetmish	T. yetmish T.
several	tsum .	tsund, chandîn P.
to sew	drövn . dröv-am . drâvd-am . drâfk .	intsivdao intsâv-am intsivd-am intsivdj
shade, shadow	sâyâh .	suyâh P.
to shake	tâp-an . tâp-am . tâpt-am . tapetk .	
shame	izâ .	A. khajal A.
to shampoo	mand-âk . mând-am . mânddi-am . mandetk .	warmând-ao &c.
sharp	taghd .	téid ? P.
a shaving (of wood)	püshtilich	tarashâh P.
to shear	varing . varîn-am . varitt-am . varitk .	pkhâd-ao pkhâu-am pkhud-am pkhudhj
a shed, a " <i>machân</i> "	yôst .	kapâ, alajük T.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
a sheep	mài		màul, mào	
sheep and goats (flocks)	jândâr	P.	rezapâi	P.
a full grown sheep	pus		piès	
a shepherd	shpün	? P.	ghübün	? P.
a shelf	rün		rün	
a shift (woman's)	parhân	P.	barhân	P.
to shift (intr.), to move (oneself)	töch-n töch-am töcht-am töchetk		kuzghâl set-ao	T.
to shift, to move (tr.)	tachüv-n tachüv-am tachovd-am tachüvetk		kuzghamish cheigao	T.
a shirt	yiktâ		yektu	T.
shore, bank	yika	T.	kâsh	? T.
short	kôt	P.	küt	P.
short-sighted	malâl		malül	
a shoulder	fiâk, tan		sevd, dâlû	T.
a shovel	péi, bíl P.		féi, bèil	P.
to shovel	büng bün-am bônd-am bünetsk		pataod-ao patao-am pataod-am pataodj	
to show, to exhibit (to cause to see)	visüv-n visüv-am visovd-am visüvetk		visând-ao visân-am visând-am visândj	
shuttle	rashpük		mâki	
to shy (as a horse)	witrin { witrin-am witritht witritht-am witring		intrist-ao { intrâs-am intrist introst-am introstj	
to cause to shy, to frighten	witriüv-n witriüv-am wotriovd-am witriüvetk		intreisând-ao &c.	

*Wakhi.**Sarikoli.*

a side, a flank . . .	shunj . . .	khaun	
on the further side, be- yond . . .	yà sar, trà (tar-yà) pür . . . W. P.	tar wi sar, tar wi pur . . . S. P.	
on the hither side . . .	tram (tar yem) pür, yem sar	tar mi pur, mi sar	
on what side ? . . .	tar kum sar . . .	tar kâ sar	
a sieve . . .	algök . . . T.	algàk . . . T.	
	farakh-biz . . .	farak-beiz . . .	
to sigh . . .	dam ding . . .	dam dhâd-ao	
far sighted . . .	chöjm-in . . . P.	tsem-in	
silence ! be quiet ! . . .	shov ! . . .	shuv ! . . .	
silk . . .	varshüm (<i>abrësham</i> P.)	varekhüm . . . P.	
silken . . .	varshüm-in . . . P.	varekhüm-in . . . P.	
	torqah . . .	turkâ . . .	
silver . . .	nukrà . . . P.	nukrà . . . P.	
a sin, an error . . .	khatagi . . . P.	khatôgi . . . P.	
to sing . . .	chîr-an . . .	chîrd-ao	
	chîr-am . . .	chîr-am	
	chird-am . . .	chîrd-am	
	chîretk . . .	chîrdj	
to sink . . .	ghot yît-n . . .	chü bôn dhâdao	
a sister . . .	khüi . . .	yâkhh	
a sister-in-law . . .	khhüyun (<i>husband's sis- ter</i>) . . .	khâyûn	
	khasirz (<i>wife's sister</i>)		
to sit down, to alight . . .	nüdh-n . . .	nâlist-ao	
	nazd-am . . .	nîth-am, nâth-d	
	nein-am . . .	nâlüst-am	
	nieng . . .	nâlüstj	
to cause to sit down . . .	nüdhüv-an . . .	nâledhând-ao	
	nüdhüv-am . . .	nâlendhân-am	
	nodhovd-am . . .	nâledhând-am	
	nüdhüvetk . . .	nâledhândj	
to sit down (of a camel)	chuk ding . . . T. W.	chök dhâdao . . . T. S.	
to cause (a camel) to sit down . . .	chuk diüvn . . . diüv-am . . . diovd-am . . . diüvetk . . .	chök dheyând-ao . . . dheyân-am . . . dheyând-am . . . dheyândj . . .	
to sit kneeling . . .	sak brîn niüdhn . . .	châr zân nalist-ao	
six . . .	shâdh . . .	khhèl	
sixty . . .	âltmish . . . T.	âltmish . . . T.	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
a skin . . .	pist . . .	P.	past	P.
to skin . . .	chökh-an . . .		kökht-ao	
	chökh-am . . .		kéig-am	
	chökht-am . . .		kakht-am	
	chökhetsk . . .		kakhtj	
a skin (used as a bag) . . .	dhotsk . . .		ambân	
a skirt . . .	dâman . . .	P.	dûman	P.
a skull-cap . . .	skîdh . . .		khâudh	
the sky . . .	asmân . . .	P.	âsmân	P.
to slander . . .	shâr-n . . .	A.	shord-ao	A.
	shâr-am . . .		shôr-am	
	shârd-am . . .		shôrd-am	
	shâretk . . .		shôrdj	
to cause to slander . . .	shâriv-n . . .		shârând-ao	
	shâriv-am . . .		shârân-am	
	shârovd-am . . .		shârând-am	
	shârivetk . . .		shârândj	
slandorous . . .	shar andâz . . .	A. P.	shord-ichoz	
slanting wise . . .	shigard màrs . . .		chilpiâ	
a slap . . .	chapât . . .	T.	chapalâ	T.
a slate (used for flat roofs and also for bak- ing on) . . .	sât . . .		sâd	
to slaughter (an animal)	bismal khâk (to do <i>Bism-Allah</i>) . . .		basmal cheigao	
a slave (male) . . .	andag . . .		indîj	
— (female) . . .	indigunj . . .		indijâns	
slavery, servitude . . .	andagi . . .		indîji	
to slay, to kill . . .	shitâr-n . . .		zéd-ao	
	{ shâi-am . . .		{ zân-am	
	{ shî-t . . .		{ zînd	
	shîtt-am . . .		zéd-am	
	shîtk . . .		zûdhj	
a sledge hammer . . .	bâzghan . . .		bâzghan	T.
sleep . . .	yûnûk . . .		khûdhm	
to sleep . . .	rûkhûp-n . . .		khovd-ao	
	rûkhûp-am, rûkhûp-t . . .		khufs-am	
	ròkhòpt-am . . .		khuvd-am	
	rûkhpetk . . .		khuvdj	
sleepy, sluggish . . .	nâsûn-kûzg . . .		aléid-ichoz	
a sleeve . . .	dröst . . .		zûl	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
slender, thin, (of things)	sanâr	.	tanük	P.
a slice	.	.	turj	
green slime on the sur- face of standing water	ghôb	.	lösh	T.
a sling	schkupn	.	vizdoch	
to slip, to slide	liv-n	.	znôid-ao	
	liv-am	.	znûs-am	
	livd-am	.	znôid-am	
	livetk	.	znôidj	
to slit, to split	pâgh ding	.	pâgh dhâdao	
a slit	khashetk-üng	.	tizj-enj	
sloping	khidh-mârs	.	padzé-dàs	
slow, lazy	gahal	.	kashang	T.
small, little	dzaklâi	.	dzül	
small pox	spragh (<i>flower</i>)	.	gül (<i>flower</i>)	P.
marked with small-pox	gilwâr-gin	.	chüpâr	
a smarting (of a wound)	gözök	.	T. gazâk	T.
to smear	sûkh-an	.	rift-ao	
	sûkh-am	.	rof-am	
	sokht-am	.	rift-am	
	sûkhetk	.	riftj	
a smell (good or bad), a perfume, an odour	vûl	.	bào	
to smell (intr.)	vûl núwûz-an	.	bào nakhtigao	
to smell (tr.)	vûl tserâk	.	bào cheigao	
smoke	dhît	.	P. dhüd	P.
smooth	sudhg	.	sudhg	
to sneeze or snort	ferkhh-an	.	ferkhht-ào	
(of a horse or camel)	ferkhh-am	.	ferkhh-am	
	ferkhht-am	.	ferkhht-am	
	ferkhhetk	.	ferkhhtj	
to sneeze	shtröf-an or pörsh-an	.	pürkhtao	
	shtröf-am pörsh-am	.	pürkht-am	
	shtröft-am pörsh-am	.	pürkht-am	
	shtröfetk pörshetk	.	pürkhtj	
a sneeze	shtröf	.	pürkht	
a snore	khurrak	.	T. khurrak	T.
snow	zam	.	zamân	
a snow pheasant (? Tet- raogallus tibetanus)	khörz	.	tsatsà	
snowy	zamîn	.	zamânin	

	<i>Wakhí.</i>	<i>Sarikólí.</i>	
so, like that . . .	hazi, nik-hazi . . .	nik-dàs	
so much . . .	atùm . . .	dund	
soap . . .	sabün . . .	P. sâfün	P.
a social re-union . . .	mâilis . . .	A. mâilis	A.
a sod, a turf . . .	chim . . .	T. ? chim	? T.
soft . . .	shilât . . .	shilêt	
soft, <i>also</i> fine powder . . .	palm . . .	pâdhm	
a land-slip of soil, rock, &c., brought into the stream by a flood of rain, &c. . .	shot . . .	kara kokum	
a soldering, a joint made by soldering . . .	kafshir . . .	kafkhéir	P.
the sole of the foot . . .	pâsht . . .	naburg	
some . . .	sum . . .		
something . . .	i tsîz . . .	P. i tseiz	P.
a son . . .	pötr . . .	pöts	
a son-in-law . . .	dâmâd . . .	dumâd	P.
soot . . .	kat-dhit . . .	chedér	
a soothsayer . . .	mutr katâk-küzg . . .	fâl-chi	A. T.
to sort (to select) . . .	yawer-n . . .	sarîd-ao	
sordid, mean . . .	badh-tap . . .	? P. ghâjd	
sorrow . . .	gham . . .	P. gham	P.
a sound . . .		sherfâ	P.
to sound (tr.) (to cause any instrument to sound) . . .	nawâz-an . . .	P. khhid-ao	
	nawâz-am . . .	khhei-am	
	nawâzd-am . . .	khhé-d-am	
	nawâzetk . . .	khhédhj	
sour . . .	treshp . . .	P. tükhb	
to sow (seed) . . .	zôdh-n . . .	yeth tao	
	zôdh-am . . .	yèdh-am	
	zôdht-am . . .	yeth t-am	
	zôdhetk . . .	yeth tj	
to sow (cultivate) . . .	kür-n . . .	chòrd-ao	
	kür-am . . .	chòr-am	
	kösht-am . . .	chòrd-am	
	köshk . . .	chòrdj	
		<i>also</i>	
		takhirm cheigao	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sariqoli.</i>	
a span . . .	avart . . .		wardhord	
a spark . . .	gârd . . .		khkhârm	
to give out sparks . . .	rakhnig nawüz-n . . .		yuts nakhtîgao	
a sparrow . . .	wingàs . . .		wadhîch	
to speak . . .	khan-âk . . .		levd-ao	
	khân-am . . .		lev-am	
	khâtt-am . . .		levd-am	
	khanétk . . .		levdj	
a speaker . . .	khanâk-küzg . . .		levd-ichoz	
a speech, a word, talk . . .	gap, ksà . . .	P.	gap	P.
ready of speech . . .	ushyâr . . .	P.	chechân	T.
to spin . . .	zûp-n . . .		zevd-ao	
	zûp-am . . .		zeib-am, zevd	
	zövd-am . . .		zevd-am	
	zöfk or zûpetk . . .		zevdj	
the spinal chord . . .	mâk . . .		mòk	
a spindle . . .	tsütr . . .		stârkx	
a spinning wheel . . .	chârkx . . .		chârkx	P.
to spit . . .	tuf tserâk . . .	T.	tû cheigao	T.
	tuf tsâram . . .		&c.	
	tuf (am) kart . . .			
	tuf (am) khötk . . .			
to splash, to slop . . .	shilâp-am . . .		washlipt-ao	
	shilâb-am . . .		washlâb-am	
	shilâpt-am . . .		washlipt-am	
	shilapötk . . .		washliptj	
to be splashed up . . .	strâs-n . . .		zâtrist-ao	
	strâs-am . . .		zâtrâs-am	
	strâst-am . . .		zâtrust-am	
	strâsetk . . .		zâtrustj	
sound of splashing of				
water . . .	yupk awâgh . . .	W. P.	khats sherfà	S. P.
a split, a fissure . . .	pâgh . . .		pâgh	
to split (intr.) . . .			chift-ao	
			chof-am	
			chift-am	
			chiftj	
			chafând-ao, &c.	
to split (tr.), to pierce . . .				
a spoon . . .	kapch . . .	? P.	chib	
	kifchilaz . . .	P.	kamich	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
sport, hunting . . .	shkâr . . .	P.	ghéw . . .	? T.
to spread <i>see</i> to throw in, &c.	kâtâk . . . kâtam . . . kârtam . . . katetk . . .		wedhd-ao wedh-am wedhd-am wedhdj	
to spread, to extend, to flood. (tr.) . . .	werkhühv-n . . . werkhühv-am . . . werkhhovd-am . . . werkhühvetk . . .		waleisând-ao &c. . .	
to be spread out, to flood (of the water) . . .	werkhhar-an . . . werkhhar-am . . . werkhhart-am . . . werkhharetk . . .		walid-ao walis-am walüid-am walüidj	
a spring (of water) . . .	zkük . . .		kaug	
spring (season) . . .	bahâr . . .	P.	wug	
to spring up . . .			zibéd-ao zibân-am zibéd-am zibedhj	
a springe . . .	dhüng . . .		dhomj	
to sprinkle, to strew . . .	zedh-n . . . zedh-am . . . zedhd-am . . . zedhetk . . .		gietht-ao gieth-am gietht-am giethjt	
a spy . . .	jâsüs . . .	P.	jâsüs	P.
to squat . . .	tsok nüdh-n . . .		tsek nâlistao	
to squeeze out, to express	wazem-n . . . wazem-am . . . wazemd-am . . . wazemetk . . .		sherzd-ao sherz-am shirzd-am shirz dj	
to stab, to prick . . .	khhalâ ding . . .	P. W.	khhalâ dhâdao	P. S.
to stain, to affect, to profit . . .	nadhevs-an . . . nadhevs-am . . . nadhevd-am . . . nadhâfk . . .		nadhevd-ao { nadhivs-am nadhavs-t nadhevd-am nadhevdj	
a stake, a post . . .	khaddâ . . .	T.	khaddâ	T.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
a stallion . . .	ügür . . .	T.	eighir . . .	T.
to stand, to stay . . .	warefs-n . . .		warevd-ao . . .	
	warefs-am . . .		waräfs-am . . .	
	warefst-am . . .		wuruvd-am . . .	
	warefsetk . . .		warüvdj . . .	
a star . . .	stâr . . .		khturj . . .	
the evening star . . .	sakr stâr (<i>red star</i>) . . .		rusht khturj (<i>red star</i>) . . .	
the morning star . . .	karwân küsh (<i>the cara-</i> <i>van killer</i>) . . .	P.	yaulân zâk (<i>dawn star</i>) . . .	
a starling . . .	schu wingàs (<i>black bird</i>) . . .		târ wadhich (<i>black</i> <i>bird</i>) . . .	
to start, to depart . . .	rawan wâtsn . . .	P. W.	râwan setao . . .	P. S.
to stay, to remain . . .	hâl-âk . . .		hâst-ao . . .	
	hâl-am . . .		hâl-am . . .	
	hâld-am . . .		hâst-am . . .	
	haletk . . .		hâstj . . .	
			<i>also réid-ao, &c.</i>	
to steal . . .	ghûdhi khâk, <i>also</i> . . .		tsâft-ao . . .	
	dhevu-in . . .		{ tsâf-am . . .	
	dhuvi-am . . .		{ tsâf-t . . .	
	dhovoid-am . . .		tsâft-am . . .	
	dhövietk . . .		tsâftj . . .	
steam . . .	tâf . . .	P.	tef P., büs Y. . .	
steel . . .	kurch . . .	T.	kurch . . .	T.
steep . . .	khidh . . .		padzé . . .	
step (father, mother, &c.) . . .	bâghi (? P. <i>hostile</i>) . . .		boghî (? P. <i>hostile</i>) . . .	
to stick together (intr.) . . .	nadhefs-n . . .		nadhevd-ao . . .	
	nadhefs-am . . .		nadhefs-am, nadhafst . . .	
	nadhefst-am . . .		nadhevd-am . . .	
	nadhefk . . .		nadhevdj . . .	
to stick into, to infix (as a flower in the cap) . . .	zéravûv-n . . .		ingaughând-ao . . .	
	zéravûv-am . . .		ingaughân-am . . .	
	zéravovd-am . . .		ingaughând-am . . .	
	zeravüvetk . . .		ingaughândj . . .	
a walking stick . . .	asâi . . .	A.	asâi . . .	A.
to sting or bite . . .	nêsh ding . . .	P. W.	nekh dhâdao . . .	P. S.
to stir (a fire) . . .	chuk-an . . .		châkt-ao . . .	
	chuk-am . . .		châk-am . . .	
	chukt-am . . .		châkt-am . . .	
	chuketk . . .		châktj . . .	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
a stirrup . . .	rekâb . . .	A. padh-bûn (<i>foot bottom</i>)	
to stitch roughly . . .	kok ding . . .	kek dhâdao	
a coarse stitch . . .	kok . . .	kek	
stomach, belly . . .	wânj, dur . . .	kech	
a stone, a rock . . .	ghâr . . .	zër	
a fruit-stone . . .	kütük . . .	rukchi	Y.
to stop (intr.) . . .	warefs-n . . .	warevd-ao	
	warefs-am . . .	warâfs-am	
	warefst-am . . .	waruvd-am	
	warefsetk . . .	warüvdj	
to stop (tr.) . . .	warafsüvn . . .	warambândao	
	warafsüv-an . . .	warambân-am	
	warafsovd-am . . .	warambând-am	
	warafsüvetk . . .	warambândj	
a rain storm . . .	wur damà . . .	baréshâ	P.
	(<i>rain wind</i>) . . .		
a snow storm . . .	zam damà . . .	chapghin	T.
	(<i>snow wind</i>) . . .		
stout, fat, thick . . .	bâj . . .	divèz	
stoutness, thickness . . .	bâji . . .	divèzi	
straight, right . . .	râst P., shigârd . . .	khèij, tors	
to set straight . . .	râst khâk . . .	khèij cheigao	
straightness . . .	râsti . . .	khèiji	
to strain, to filter . . .	schachüv-am . . .	kardâzd-ao	
	schachüv-am . . .	kardâz-am	
	schachovd-am . . .	kardâzd-am	
	schachüvetk . . .	kardâzdzj	
a strainer, a cullender . . .	schachüvn-küzg . . .	choghz	
strange, unknown . . .	bigânah . . .	P. béigânah	P.
strength, power . . .	küch . . .	kuch	T.
to stretch out, to extend			
(tr.) . . .	rür-n . . .	rord-ao	
	rür-am . . .	ror-am	
	rord-am . . .	rord-am	
	rüretk . . .	rordj	
to strike . . .	ding or diin . . .	dhâd-ao	
	{ di-am, di'm . . .	{ dhâ-m	
	{ dikh-t . . .	{ dhi-d	
	dikht-am . . .	dhâd-am	
	dietk . . .	dhâdhj	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
to cause to strike	diüv-n .	.	dheyând-ao	
	diüv-am .	.	dheyân-am	
	diovd-am .	.	dheyând-am	
	diüvetk .	.	dheyândj	
to strike, to touch	parvéi-n .	.	bizéid-ao	
	parvéy-am .	.	bizis-am, bizâst	
	parvet-am .	.	bizeid-am	
	parvetk .	.	bizedhj	
to cut into strips	khashâk .	.	tizd-ao	
	khâsh-am .	.	tâz-am	
	khâsht-am .	.	tizd-am	
	khâshetk .	.	tizdj	
to stroke, to rub	dhast ding .	.	dhüst dhâd-ao	
strong, powerful	küchîn .	.	T. küchîn	T.
strong, lasting	pürdâsht .	.	P. pônug	P.
stubble field .	naghaz .	.	naghâz	
to stumble .	shtrâkh-n .	.	turft-ao	
	shtrâkh-am .	.	turf-am	
	shtrâkht-am .	.	turft-am	
	shtrâkhetk .	.	turftj	
a stumbler .	shtrakhn-küzg .	.	turft-ichoz	
stuttering .	gúng .	.	P. kakâch	T.
such .	azi .	.	dâs	
to suck (the breast)	shâp-n .	.	rivd-âo	
	shâp-am .	.	rôv-am	
	shâpt-am .	.	rivd-am	
	shâfk .	.	rivdj	
sugar .	nabât .	.	P. nubut	P.
summer .	tâbistan .	.	P. menj	
to summon, to call	kiw tserâk .	.	kiw cheigao	
the Sun .	yîr .	.	khher	
sunrise, East .	yîr tserakhh .	.	khher tserakhh	
sunset, West .	yîr wishan .	.	khher nalist	
supplies, provisions	zâu .	.	zâu	
to support (to raise)	wuch tserâk .	.	têr cheigao	
to surge (of water)	shilâp-an .	.	wâshlipt-ao	
	shilâb-am .	.	wâshlâb-am	
	shilâpt-am .	.	wâshlipt-am	
	shilapötk .	.	wâshliptj	
to suspend to a peg or				
hook, to hook (tr.)	zirevüv-n .	.	ingâughând-ao	

	<i>Wakhí.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
(see "to hang from a peg", intr.) .	zirevüv-am .	.	
	zirevòvd-am .	.	
	zirevüvetk .	.	• &c.
suspended .	ravindak .	.	
to swallow .	nezghern .	.	imbokht-ao
	nezghar-am .	.	imboz-am
	nezghard-am .	.	imbokht-am
	nezgharetk .	.	imbokhtj
a swallow .	kildirgâch .	T.	kalargâch T.
sweet .	khühzg .	.	khhegh
to sweep .	vishiüw-n .	.	zadig-ao
	vishiüw-am .	.	zador-am
	vishiowd-am .	.	zadüg-am
	vishiüwetk .	.	zadügj
sweepings .	rapk .	.	büjein
to swell, to ferment .	pödhmösh-an .	.	baleid-ao
	pödhmösht-am .	.	baliss-am
	pödhmösht-am .	.	baléid-am
	pödhmöshetk .	.	baledhj
to swim .	keloch khash-âk .	.	keluch tizd-ao T.
	—— khâsh-am .	.	&c.
	—— khâsht-am .	.	
	—— khashetk .	.	
a swimmer .	shünâwar .	P.	khünüwâr P.
a sword .	khingâr .	P.	midhj
a straight sword .	shóp kôz .	P.	khub P.
T.			
a tail (horse's) .	bechkam .	.	dhüm P.
—— (sheep's) .	dümbâ .	P.	dümbâ P.
to take .	dürz-n .	.	zokht-ao
	dürz-am .	.	zôz-am
	dözd-am .	.	zukht-am
	dözg .	.	zukhtj
to take away .	yônd-âk .	.	yôd-ao
	yônd-am .	.	yûs-am
	yütt-am .	.	yûd-am
	yût-k .	.	yûdhj

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
to take care of, to look after . . .	didign . . .	chikht-ao	
	didig-am . . .	chos-am	
	didigd-am . . .	chükht-am	
	didigetk . . .	chükhtj	
	<i>also</i> . . .	<i>also</i>	
	nigàh tserák . . .	nigah cheigao	P. S.
a tale, a story, a saying, a proverb . . .	zindäg . . .	saug	
to talk . . .	ksà khanàk . . .	gap cheigao	
	gap khàk . . .	<i>or</i> levd-ao	
a talon, a claw . . .	chang . . .	P. changâl	P.
tame, tractable, docile . . .	shov . . .	shuv	
tame, not escaping (staying) . . .	waréfs-n küzg . . .	warevd-ichoz	
to tan (skins, only sheep and goats') . . .	koz katàk . . .	kuz wedhd-ao	
the Tartar year cycle, named after 12 animals, is used.			
a tassel . . .	pulk . . .	pülk	
to taste . . .	mazà khàk . . .	maza cheigàn	P.
tea . . .	chái . . .	chái	
a tea-pot . . .	châ-josh . . .	P. chau-gün	T.
to teach . . .	yekhk khàk . . .	ikhhmànd cheigao	
to tear, <i>also</i> to tear along (of a living creature moving very fast) . . .	chòk ding . . .	P. W. chuk dhàdaò	P. S.
a tear . . .	yashk . . .	? T. yukhk	? T.
the temple (of the head) . . .	soyà . . .	soyà	
ten . . .	dhas . . .	dhes	
tender, delicate . . .	senàf . . .	nazük	P.
a tendon . . .	ràg . . .	P. ràg	P.
tepid, lukewarm . . .	narm . . .	P. shilet	
than, from . . .	tsa (<i>with the Obl. case</i>)	az ———	
that (pron. subst., &c.) . . .	yao . . .	yü	
that (pron. adj.) . . .	yà . . .	yü	
that far, to that extent . . .	drà-batkan . . .	üm-its	
that which is there, the ——— there . . .	hadrà-yüng . . .	üm-enj	
that (conj.) . . .	ki . . .	kò	
that much, so much <i>or</i> many . . .	a-tum . . .	dund	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
then		tom	
thence		az-üm	
there (adv.), thither	drà, hà-drà	üm	
there! (interj.)	â-ki	u-yu	
they, those	yâvisht, yâisht	wòdh	
thick, stout, fat, massive	bâj	divèz	
thickness, stoutness	bâji	divèzi	
a thief	ghûdh	ziedh	
thievery	ghûdhi		
the thigh	malung yâich	madhân khoj	
	lang	P. bikhtun	
a thimble	pûlàngösht	W. P. tûmâk	T.
thin, lean	khât	khharâb	P.
thin, slender (of things)	sanâr	tanük	
to thirst, to become			
thirsty	tâkhh wâtsn	? P. tür set-ao	
thirsty	tâkhh	? P. tür	
this	yem	yam	
this much	ma-tum	mund	
this very	ha-yem	ha-yam, nak-yam	
a thorn fence	chit	T. chit	T.
a thorn	zakh	shudh	
a thorn bush	chirîr	khâr	P.
thou	tu	tao	
a thousand	hazâr	P. hazâr	P.
a thread (of cotton)	wasé	padets	
—— (of wool)	zûtr	vürgh	
a thread of hemp or			
hair, &c.	dârch	shâuni	
three	trâi	haròï	
the throat	alkûm	A. âlkûm	A.
to throw, to throw away	büng	paṭàod-ao	
	bün-am	paṭào-am	
	bond-am	paṭàod-am	
	bünetk	paṭàodj	
to throw down, to over-			
throw	büt-an	imbât-ao	
	büt-am	imbat-am	
	bött-am	imbatt-am	
	büetk	imbâtj	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
to throw in, to throw off, to pour in or out, to arrange, to appoint .	katāk . kätt-am . kärt-am . katetk .	. . . . wedhd-ao wedh-am wedhd-am wedhdj	
to throw over, to reverse	savän ding .	. skeläk dhâdao	
the thumb .	ghösch yangl . (<i>male finger</i>) .	. nièr ingakht (<i>male finger</i>)	
thunder .	tungür .	. sadà	
to thunder .	tungür ding .	. sadà cheig-ao	
thus .	hazi, azi .	. däs, nak-däs	
thus much .	ma-tum .	. mund	
Tibet (Ladāk, &c.) .	Tibet .	. Tibät	
a tick .	kuwand .	. khhesäk	
a tickling .	gilgöch .	. gilgich	
to tie in a knot .	jirekh ding .	. jirekh dhâdao	
to tie head and tail to- gether .	pa i-'m-an kantar khäk .	pa i-mi vistao	
tight, narrow .	tang .	P. tong	P.
to tighten .	shukh khäk .	. ching cheig-ao	T.
till when .	tsoghd-batkan .	. chum-its	
time (precise), epoch .	alà, mahàl .	A. alà, wakht	A.
time (so many times) .	pitig .	. pitig	
tin .	kalià .	A. kaliah	A.
tinder .	khhaf .	P. khhof	P.
a tinkling .	jiringàs .	. jiringàs	
to tire (tr.) .	warechüv-n . warechüv-am warechóvd-am warechüvetk	. warezând-ao &c.	
to be tired .	warech-n . { warech-am . waresh-t . wanegn-am . warekhk .	. warezd-ao { wareiz-am { warez-d . warezd-am . warez dj	
to (motion or intention towards) [definite] .	tar — .	. pā —, tar — par —,	
to — [indefinite] .	— ar, ar —	— ar, ar —	
to-day .	wudhg .	. nür	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
together . . .	kattî . . .	P.	kattî . . .	P.
to-morrow . . .	varok . . .		pigâh . . .	P.
tongue, language . . .	zik . . .		ziv . . .	P.
a tooth . . .	dündük . . .		dhândân . . .	P.
on the top (adv.) . . .	sāk tsusk . . .		} — chü tēr	
on the top of (p. p.) . . .	sāk — tsusk . . .			
torture, <i>also</i> trouble . . .	kiin . . .		kaîn . . .	T.
to totter, to waver, to vacillate . . .	gâch-n . . .		wakucht-ao . . .	
	gâch-am . . .		wakoch-am . . .	
	gâcht-am . . .		wakucht-am . . .	
	gachetk . . .		wakuchtj . . .	
to touch, to attain . . .	parvâi-n . . .		bizeidao . . .	
	parvèy-am . . .		bizis-am, bizàst . . .	
	parvet-am . . .		bizèid-am . . .	
	parvetk . . .		bizedhj . . .	
touching, contiguous . . .	piwas . . .	P.	peiwast . . .	P.
towards . . .	— gana . . .		tar — guna . . .	
a town . . .			khâr (shahr) . . .	P.
a town-crier . . .	suran-chi . . .	T.	ulam-chi . . .	A. T.
a foot track . . .	podh . . .		pedh . . .	
to train (a hawk, &c.) . . .	yekhk khâk . . .		ikhhmând cheig-ao . . .	
to tread down . . .	nispâr-an . . .		nakhpig-ao . . .	
	naspar-am . . .		nakhpor-am . . .	
	naspart-am . . .		nâkhpug-am . . .	
	naspöretk . . .		nakhpugj . . .	
<i>also</i> . . .	pimâl khâk . . .	P. W.	peimâl cheigào . . .	
a tree . . .	darakht . . .	P.	darakht . . .	P.
to tremble . . .	tâp-n . . .		jumbd-ao . . .	P.
	tâp-am . . .		jumb-am . . .	
	tâpt-am . . .		jumbd-am . . .	
	tapetk . . .		jumbdj . . .	
to tremble, to shiver . . .	larzâ khâk . . .	P.	larzâ cheigao . . .	P.
trial, <i>also</i> tried . . .	azmâish . . .	P.	âzmüd . . .	P.
to trip up (intr.) . . .	shtrakhhân . . .		turft-ao . . .	
	shtrakhh-am . . .		turf-am . . .	
	shtrakhh-t-am . . .		turft-am . . .	
	shtrakhh-etk . . .		turftj . . .	
to trip up (tr.) . . .	shtrakhhöv-n . . .		turfând-ao . . .	
	shtrakhhöv-am . . .		turfân-am . . .	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
	shtrakhhövd-am	.	turfând-am	
	shtrakhhövetk	.	turfândj-am	
a trot (pace of a horse)	dzokn	.	dzekt	
to trot	dzokn	.	dzekt-ao	
	dzok-am	.	dzek-am	
	dzokt-am	.	dzekt-am	
	dzoketk	.	dzektj	
trouble	rönj	.	P. amgāk	T.
troublesome, difficult	kilā	.	kilā	
a wooden trough	pütkhârm	.	khhāk	
the trough of a water mill	niüw	.	nao	P.
trousers, drawers	tümbân	.	P. tambân	T.
wide outer trousers	shawalak.	.	shim	T.
true	râst	.	rust	P.
to trust	ishânz tserāk	.	piti set-ao	T. S.
to speak truth	râst khanāk	.	rust levd-ao	P.
to try, to prove	âzmud tserāk	.	P. W. âzmüd cheigao	P. S.
to tuck up (sleeves &c.)	gürt-am	.	padawid-as	
	gürt-am	.	padawéz-am	
	gortt-am	.	padawükht-am	
	gürtetk	.	padawükhtj	
a tumult, a noise	surân	.	kichkirân	? T.
a turban	sallā	.	dastūr	P.
a turf, a sod	chim	.	T. ? chim	T. ?
the Türkis of Eastern Turkistan			Mughul	
a turn, succession	nobât	.	A. nubât	
to turn (in a lathe)	zirü-in	.	kirist-ao	
	zirând-am	.	kirân-am	
	zirest-am	.	kirând-am	
	ziresetk	.	kirândj	
to turn back (tr.)	pshû-n	.	wâzepând-ao	
	pshû-am	.	wâzepân-am	
	pshaud-am	.	wâzepând-am	
	pshuetk	.	wâzepândj	
to turn back (intr.)	pshên	.	wâzabt-ao or wâzevd-ao	
	pshêw-am	.	wâzeib-am wâzevs-am	
	pshett-am	.	wâzabt-am wâzevd-am	
	pshetk	.	wâzabtj wâzevdj	
to turn round	gir-n	.	gherd-ào	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
a turner, a man who			
uses a lathe . . .	zirün-küzg . . .	kirist-ichoz	
twenty . . .	wist . . .	wist	P.
a twig . . .	yakh . . .	pütāk	T.
to twist (tr.) . . .	tovn <i>or</i> tov tserāk . . .	tuv cheigao	P.
	tov-am . . .	&c.	
	tov (am) kàrt . . .		
	tov (am) khōtk . . .		
to twist, to wind, (as a			
turban) . . .	zwäi-n . . .	zarwid-ao	
to twitter, to chirp . . .	chîr-an . . .	chîrd-ao	P. T.
	chîr-am . . .	chîr-am	
	chird-am . . .	chîrd-am	
	chîretk . . .	chîrdj	
two . . .	bûi . . .	dhâu	
twofold, &c., . . .	bû-pitig, &c. . .	dhâ-pitig, &c.	
U.			
ugly . . .	shak, battilhât . . .	dhèw khèr	P. A.
uncle . . .	bach . . .	dudh	
under . . .	bön . . .		
to understand . . .	kshüin (<i>to hear</i>) . . .	khîd-ao (<i>to hear</i>)	
understanding . . .	kshüin . . .	khîd	
to unite, to join . . .	katti khāk . . .	ḡatti cheig-ao	
unripe, uncooked . . .	yüing . . .	khum	P.
to untie, to undo . . .	wushüin . . .	hât cheigao	
	wushüy-am . . .	&c.	
	washan-am . . .		
	wushang . . .		
an untruth, a lie . . .	durogh . . .	fand	P.
up . . .	pa khidh . . .	padzé	
upper . . .	wuch-ung . . .	tèr-nènj	
upon, on the top of . . .	sak—tsusk . . .	— chü tèr, chü — tèr	
upright . . .	tsok . . .	tsèk	
upright, standing (of liv-			
ing beings) . . .	warefsetk . . .	warüvdj	
to set upright . . .	tsok ding . . .	tsèk dhâdao	
upwards . . .	pa-khidh mäs . . .	padzé-däs	
V.			
various . . .	rang rang . . .	khil khil	P.
this very, this same . . .	ha-yem . . .	nik-yam	P.

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
a water vessel . . .	lût . . .		liet . . .	
vicious . . .	wañ-küzg . . .		wâkt-ichoz . . .	
	tasin-diin-küzg . . .		tasin dhâd-ichoz . . .	
a village . . .	diâr . . .		diûr . . .	P.
a kind of violin . . .	kumuz . . .		kumuz . . .	
a virgin, a maid . . .	pür-chodh . . .	P.	ghâts . . .	
to visit, also to see . . .	wing . . .		wând-ao . . .	
	wîn-am . . .		wéin-am . . .	
	wind-am . . .		wând-am . . .	
	winetk . . .		wândj . . .	
a vulture . . .	tsâr . . .		tsârgh . . .	P.
W.				
to wade, to ford . . .	türt ding . . .		paug dhâdao . . .	
wages, pay . . .	mazd . . .	P.	muzd . . .	P.
a waist-sash . . .	mîûn . . .		mîund . . .	P.
a man's waist . . .	madh . . .		mêdh . . .	
to walk, to go . . .	tuk-an . . .		tîd-ao . . .	
to walk about . . .	shkûr-an . . .		khkéig-ao . . .	
	shkur-am . . .		khkâr-am, khker-d . . .	
	shkurd-am . . .		khkaug-am . . .	
	shkurgetk . . .		khkaugj . . .	
a wall . . .	diwâl . . .	P.	dèiwul . . .	P.
walnut . . .	tor . . .		ghâuz . . .	
—— wards . . .	— mâr . . .		—— dâs . . .	
a wart . . .	damösch . . .		zösh . . .	
to wash . . .	wuzd-uk . . .		zanâd-ao . . .	
	wüzdi-am } . . .		zanèy-am . . .	
	wüzdi-d } . . .			
	wozdoid-am . . .		zanûd-am . . .	
	wuzdietk . . .		zanûdhj . . .	
a wasp . . .	dhôs . . .		hari . . .	T.
to watch, to look after . . .	nigâh tserâk . . .	P. W.	nigâh cheig-ao . . .	P. S.
to watch intently . . .	didig-n . . .		chikht-ao . . .	
	didig-am . . .		châs-am . . .	
	didigd-am . . .		chükht-am . . .	
	didigetk . . .		chükhtj . . .	
water . . .	yupk . . .		khâts . . .	
water-course, a canal . . .	charm, wâdh . . .		wâdh . . .	
a watering place (of cattle) . . .	yupk jâi . . .	W. P.	khökh-tuj . . .	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>		<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
a wave	shilâpt		wâshlipt	
wax	mum	P.	mum	P.
to lose the way	rapatsan		nalkhhid-ao	
	rapits-am }		nalkhhan-am	
	repats-t }		nalkhhüd-am	
	rapagn-am		nalkhhüdj	
	rapakhk		mash	
we	sak		yerâgh	T.
weapons, arms	asbâb	P.	kênâ sétao	
to wear out (intr.)	kohna wâtsn		khürdhâh setao	P. S.
to wear down (intr.)	südhah wâtsn	P. W.	daçat	P.
weariness	daçat			
to weed, to pull out				
weeds, &c. . . .	rut tserâk		rüt cheig-ao	
	naçdün khâk		khaui cheigao	
to weep	niüw-n		niüwd-ao	
	niüw-am		nâw-am	
	nâud-am		niüwd-am	
	niüwetk		niüwdj	
Weights and Measures .	No weights or balances known. Flour, &c. is sold by dry measure, containing what is called a 'chârak' T. in Sarikol* (about 10 lbs.). In Wakhân a 'por' is used, being a wooden vessel (hollowed out of a single log of wood, with a bottom fixed to it) containing some 80 lbs. of flour.			
well, in good health	tan-dürüst	P.	sok	T.
well, happy	sihât	A.	tinj	T.
a well	chal		küdügh	T.
well-paced, fast	wéyawîn		wéyawîn	
West, sunset	yîr wishan		khhêr tserakhh	
wet, damp	khhaïch		khhâst	
wetness, dampness	khhaïchi		khhâsti	
what ?	tsiz	P.	tsèiz	P.
what like ? also how ?	tsa-rang	W. P.	tsa-ràng	S. P.
at what time ?	tsa wakhht	W. A.	tsa wakhht	S. A.
what for ? to what purpose ?	tsiz-ar		tséiz-ar	
in what direction ?	tar kum ginâ		tar kâ gunâ	
on what side ?	tar kum sar		tar kâ sar	
wheat	ghidim		çândam	P.

	<i>Wahki.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>
when	tsoghd (? for tsa-waht)	chum
till when	tsoghd-batkan	chum-its
whence ?	tsa-kum-an	az-kâ
whenever	har wakhht	har wakhht P.
where	kum-jâi	kâ-jûi S. P.
where ? well ?	kumai	kâyi
to whet, to sharpen	pasân ding	pasân dhâdao
which, who ?	kum	chidâm
which has been done	khötk-ung	chaugj-enj
whilst		— its
a whip	rashîp	kamchi T.
a whirlwind, a devil	liw damâ	dhéw balamût
to whisper	mulâim kşâ khâk	khish gap cheigao
to whistle	shkhhêlân khâk	shkhhêlûn cheigao
a whistle, whistling	shkhhêlân	shkhhêlûn
white	rukhn	spéid
a white frost, also dew	shak	khok
who ?	kûi	choi
whoever	har kûi, har kum P. W.	har choi P. S.
the whole, all	kükht	fük
why ? on account of		
what ?	tsîz jinib	tséiz-ivon W. P.
why ? to what purpose ?	tsîz-ar	tseiz-ar, tsa'r
a widow	biwâ	béwâ zan P.
width, breadth	bâr	bâr P.
a wife	könd, yupk-wâr (<i>water-drawer</i>)	ghîn, rozagâr-i-nék
wild onions	qarilghân	qarilghân
wild, untamed	lâlm	lelmi
a wild dog (hunting in packs, the size of a large sheep-dog, yellow, with small standing black ears, and black nose, a thin straight tail), Turki <i>âju</i>	kik	kâuj
a wild ass (<i>Equus Hemionus</i>), found in Pamir	qulan	qulan T.

	<i>Wakké.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	
a willow (tree) .	tük	wantj	
wind, air .	damà	khèr, shamâl	T.
to wind, to twist	zwaï-n	zarwîd-ao	
	zway-am	zarwéy-am	
	zwett-am	zarwîd-am	
	zwetk	zarwedhj	
the wind-pipe .	kalitok	khporg	
a wing .	par	P. kanât	T. or P.
winnings (substantive)			
at the game of sheep's			
knuckle bones .	âlchi	T. âlchi	T.
to winnow .	büng	davând-ao	
	bün-am	davân-am	
	bond-am	davând-am	
	bünetk	davândj	
winter .	zümistân	P. zümistân	P.
to wipe .	vishiûw-an	zadüg-ao	
	vishiûw-am	zador-am	
	vishiôwd-am	zadüg-am	
	vishiûwetk	zadügj	
— wise, — wards	mârs	dâs	
with, by, by means of .	{ da ——— an	——— its	
	——— möshôn	——— its, ——— kätti	
with, (together with)	——— möshôn	bé ———	
without, deprived of .	bi ———	khithp	
a wolf .	shâpt	ghîn, stir	
a woman, a wife .	könd, stréi	pehéin	
a young woman .	pürchodh	P. kampir	P.
an old woman .	kampir		
a woman connected with			
another by being wife			
of the same husband .	bâghi	béinzâr	
a woman's head kerchief			
or mantilla .	chil	khhadhbân	
wood, a stick .	shung	khüng	
a woodman, a fuel			
fetcher .	gûz-vor	zez-vor	
wool .	gör	wân	
a word, a speech .	ksa, gap	P. gap	P.
work, business .	yark	chèr	
a worm, a grub .	-prich	cherm	P.

*Wakhi.**Sarikoli.*

to worship, (to bow the head)	.	.	sar khâmüv-n	.	P. W.	kâl khambând-ao	
a wound	.	.	zâkhm	.	P.	zâkhm	P.
to wrap, to wind	.	.	zwaîn	.	.	parwid-ao	
to wrestle (to seize one another)	.	.	imân wadhûrn	.	.	miûn pa-khat wadhord-ao	
to wring	.	.	zümând-an	.	.	tipt-ao	
	.	.	zümând-am	.	.	tâb-am, tîp-t	
	.	.	zümânddi-am	.	.	tipt-am	
	.	.	zümândetk	.	.	tiptj	
to cause to wring	.	.	zümândüv-n	.	.	tabând-ao	T.
	.	.	zümândüv-am	.	.	tabân-am, &c.	
	.	.	zümândovd-am	.	.		
	.	.	zümândüvetk	.	.		
the wrist	.	.	parsang	.	.	pardhüst	
to write	.	.	nevish-an	.	.	nâvisht-ao	
	.	.	nevish-am	.	.	nâvish-am	
	.	.	nevisht-am	.	.	nâvisht-am	
	.	.	nevishetk	.	.	nâvishtj	
to writhe, to twist oneself	.	.	toṽ khâk	.	.	tiptao	
	.	.	toṽ-am	.	.	tâb-am	
	.	.	toṽd-am	.	.	tipt-am	
	.	.	toṽetk	.	.	tiptj	

Y.

a yak (<i>Bos grunniens</i>)	.	.	dzugh	.	.	staur	
the city of Yarkand	.	.	Yârkand	.	.	khâr (<i>shahr</i> = town)	P.
a man of Yarkand	.	.	Yârkandi	.	.	khâri	P.
a year	.	.	sar-i-sâl	.	P.	sar-i-sâl	P.
a half year	.	.	sâl	.	P.	sâl	P.
last year	.	.	pard	.	.	parwus	
of last year	.	.	pard-üing	.	.	parwus-enj	
a yearling bull calf	.	.	nâband	.	P.	khajâk	
— cow calf	.	.	raghûm	.	.	nauzâd	P.
to yearn	.	.	indokhtj tserâk	.	.	gürm cheig-ao	
yellow	.	.	zard	.	P.	zird	P.
yesterday	.	.	yéz	.	.	khiéb	
a yoke	.	.	sivar	.	.	yügh	P.
you	.	.	savisht, saisht	.	.	tamâsh	

	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>
a young camel . .	üshtür zaman	tailäk
a young woman . .	pürchodh	pehéin
pregnant, with young (of animals) . .	varenj	varinz
youth . .	jawâni	P. jawâni P.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY.

Wakhi', Sarikoli', Shighni, Sangli'chi, Minja'ni.

(The three latter collected by Munshi Faiz Bakhsh.)

English. Wakhi. Sarikoli. Shighni. Sanglich. Minjan.

A.

apple	. mür	. mân	. mün	.	. aminga
apricot	. chiwân	. nôsh	.	.	. cherí
arrow	.	. pudh	. pás	.	.
ass	. khur	. sher	. markab	. khár	. kara
awake	. agah	. agâh	. andez	.	.

B.

back . dâm	. dom	. dâm	. kamik	.
bad . shâk	. zît	. ganda	.	.
barley . yürk	. chüshj	. joshach	. vurvuth	. kâsak
bear . naghordum	yürk	. pursh* (? yursh)	.	.
beard . reghish	. bun	. bûn	.	. yârzhah
beat . dî	. dhâ	.	.	. doh
belly . dur	. kech	. kich	. diyir	.
big . lup	. laur	. sark	.	.
bitter . talkh	. tsekh	. saish	.	.
black . schû	. târ	.	. shòi	. tarâvî
blood . wukhan	. wakhhin	.	. vain	.
bone . yaich	. ustkhân	.	. ásták	. pástí
bosom . bap	. tej	. bash	. chiji	.
brain . maghz	. mághz	. màghz	.	.
bread . khöch	. khpik	. gardah	. khesta	. naghan
breast . púz	. poz	.	. yuz (? puz)†	.
bring . wüzüm	. vor	.	. nas	. abar
brother . vrüt	. vrôd	. brád	. vurd	.

* Perhaps پورش by mistake for يورش (*yursh*), which in Sarikoli would become *yurkh* by the common change of *sh* into *kh*.

† Viz. دوز a mistake for پوز ?

English. Wakhi. Sariḳolī. Shighnān. Sanglich. Minjān.

C.

canal	. charm	. wādh	.	. chodar	.
cap	. tumāgh	. tumāgh	. tāḳi	.	. khola
cat	. pish	. pish	. pash	.	.
chain	. zanzir	. zanzeir	. ginzír	.	.
charcoal	.	.	.	. zich	.
cheek	. lunj	. nurj	. pes	. peshur	.
chin	.	.	. zingú	. alashah	. alakhshah
cloak	. bôt	. lèl	.	. vanjín	.
cold	. sūr	. ísh	. shitāgh	.	.
come	. wazi	. yādh	. (tará)it	. es	. as
couch	.	.	. manja	.	.
cow	. ghü	. zàu	. istaor	. ghao	. ghaoḁa
		staur (<i>yak</i>)			
crow	. karghi	. karghá	. khoro	.	.
curd	. pài	. pòi	.	. neduk	. niyà

D.

daughter,	. dhagd	. ghàts	. gháts	. odagh	. loghḁa
		(<i>a maiden</i>)			
day	. rwār	. māth	.	. rusht	.
(dawn)	. rükhn	.	.	.	.
death	. marg	. marg	.	. murda	.
dog	. shàch	. küd	. kod	. kóḁ	. ghálb
door	. bār	. divir	.	.	. labra
down	. kilapai	. nughusûr	.	. pòyan	. forsàra
drink	. pöv	. bráz	. brez	. khvar(? <i>eat</i>)	. khár
dust	. shet	. sít	.	. shat	. gharài

E.

ear	. ghish	. ghaul	. ghao	. ghovar	.
earth	. wundr	. zems	.	. zamín	.
eat	. yàu	. khhor	. khàr	. khvar	.
eight	. hàt	. wokht	.	. hat	. ashká
eye	. chöz̄m	. tsem	. chhem	. sám	. chám
eye-brow	. varào	. varào	. patis	. vurichh	.
eye-lash	. skord	. yéid	. posich	. pátak	.

F.

father	. tát	. pid	. dád	. tat	. tát
feet	. püd̄h	. pedh	. páḁ	. pùḁ	. palah
female (of animals)	. stréi	. stir	.	. shisch	. meyah

<i>English.</i>	<i>Wakhí.</i>	<i>Sarikolí.</i>	<i>Shighnán.</i>	<i>Sanglich.</i>	<i>Mínjàn.</i>
finger	. yangl	. ingakht	.	. ingit	. ankardia
fire	. rakhnig	. yuts	. yáts	. { roshnái . yúr { shunai .	
five	. pànz	. pinz	.	. pánz	. pànch
flesh	. gusht	. gükht	. goft	. púdaf	. ghosh
flock	. bakhsh	. tup	.	. bachùn	.
flour	. yumj	. yogj	. yavàj	.	.
fly	. maks	. chingin	.	. pashai	. mogha
forehead	. rûk	. ràk	.	. peshàni	.
fore-arm	. yurm	. cherost	.	. kàki	.
four	. tsabür	. tsavur	.	. safor	. chafir
frog	. mukt	. khar-béj	. sher-bich	.	.
fuel	. ghûz	. zéz	. zíz	. yùr	. ezma

G.

ghee (but- ter)	. rughn	. ràun	.	. regh	. roghún
go	. chàu	. sò	. sah	. shóh	. áí
goat <i>or</i>	.	.	.	.	.
sheep	. tugh	.	. *(ma) dugh	.	.
he goat	. tugh	.	.	. katao	. charva
she goat	.	. vâz	.	. vuz	. vorah
good	. bàf	. charj	. bashand	.	.
grandfa- ther	. pûp	. bâb	.	. bává	.
grass	. wush	. wukh	. vákhsh	. ósh	.
ground	. wundr	. zems	. zamt	.	.
gun	. miltek	. miltek	. san	. miltak	.
gun pow- der	. dâru	. dâru	.	. dárú	.

H.

hair	. shâfsh	. khâd	. dáks	. ghunyâk	. pogha
hand	. dhast	. dhüst	.	. dâst	. lást
head	. sâr	. kâl	. kal	. sár	. (po)sar†
heart	. püzüv	. zârd	. zâro(ʔzârd)‡	. uzdai	. zíl
hen	. makian	. makian	. chhash	.	.

* The syllable *ma* is probably not in reality a part of the word. Perhaps the Munshi's informant said "my goat", and the whole was entered as one word.

† The syllable *po* is perhaps a pronoun entered by mistake as a part of the word.

‡ Query زارو (*zâro*), by mistake for زارد (*zârd*) ?

<i>English.</i>	<i>Wakhi.</i>	<i>Sarikoli.</i>	<i>Shighnán.</i>	<i>Sanglich.</i>	<i>Minjàn.</i>
here, hither	dram	. àud	.	.	. mala
hold	. wüdhür	. wadhör	.	.	. ghorya
honey	.	.	.	.	. agman
horse	. yàsh	. vurj	. vareh	. voràk	. yàsap
house	. khhun	. chéd	. chet	. khàn	. kéi

I.

intestines	. shingör	. raud	. durmún	.	.
		darün			
iron	. ishn	. spin	. sapsan	.	.

K.

knee	. brin	. zân	. zûn	. zong
knife	. kôz	. chôg	. ched	. kirh

L.

light	. vòin	. vòin	. roshnagah	.	.
lip	. lafeh,	. pàuz	. ghîb (?)	. làw	.
	lav				
loin	. malung yàich	madhân khoj	.	. mîda	.

M.

male	. ghösch	. niér	.	. narak	
man	. dhài	. chûrik	. chàrak	.	.
many	. ghafch	. hüch	. lab	.	.
	lup (<i>great</i>)				
milk	. zarz	. khevd	.	. khatab	. khshîr
moon	. zümâk	. mâs	. mâesit	. dulmik	. yômgha
mother	. nân	. anâ	. nan	. nan	.
mouth	. ghâsh	. ghov	.	. fotsah	. yúrab

N.

nail (finger)	.	.	.	. narkhak	.
neck	. gardhân	. gardhân	.	. ghurúk	.
needle	. sits	. sits	. saj	.	.
night	. nâghd	. khâb	.	. forshuk	. khashâwa
nine	. nao	. néw	.	. nao	. nao
nose	. mis	. nâz	. nids	. fusik	. foska

English. Wakhi. Sarikoli. Shighnán. Sanglich. Minjàn.

O.

one	. iv	. iv	.	. vāk	. yao (ʔ iw)*
ox	. druksh	. khez	.	. chārva	. koya

P.

pigeon	. kibit	. chabāud	. chapúd	.	.
pot	. lut	. liet	.	. māl	. tala

Q.

quilt	. sirekh	. siregh	. lef	.	.
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R.

rain	. wūr	. wareij	.	. nok	. neoda
rat	. pūrkh	. pūrg	. purg	.	. yārght†
red	. sōkr	. rūsh	. risht	.	.
ribs	. pūrs	. pala	.	.	. alikha
river	. darya	. daryâ	.	. darya	.
robe	. chapān	. chapân	.	. shoi	.
roof	.	.	.	. kiskur	.

S.

saddle	. pōdhn	. bidhān	. bedān	.	.
salt	. nimak	. nimadhj	.	. namolgha	. namālgha
seven	. hūb	. üvd	.	. hoft	. odh
sister	. khūi	. yākhkh	.	. ikhva	. yakhva
sit	. nözd	. nith	. nis	.	.
six	. shādh	. khhél	.	. khoār	. akhshi
shoulders	. fiāk	. sevd	. fiyak	. syúd	.
sky	. āsmān	. āsmān	. asmān	. asma	.
sleep	. yüntük	. khhüdhm	. shāftis	.	.
sleep (imp.)	. rukhp	. khūfs	.	. mes	. nalva
small	. dzaklai	. dzül	. ghada	.	.
snake	. fuks	. tafüsk	.	.	. yiz
snow	. zam	. zamān	. zanj	. varf	. vārfa
sole	. pasht	. naburg	.	. pūdash	.
son	. pōtr, zamān	. pōts	. pots	. zamānak	. pūr

(child)

stand up	. warefs	. warāfs	.	. tas	. ushka
star	. stār	. khturj	. ishtirz	. ustūrak	. astari

* The Munshí took down *يو*. This should perhaps have been *يو*. (In Wakhi the Munshí spells this word likewise *يو* 'yao', while it is there decidedly pronounced 'iv').

† Perhaps this should be *پارغ* (pārg), instead of *پارغ* yārg.

English.	Wakhi.	Sarikoli.	Shighnán.	Sanglich.	Minján.
stomach	. wanj, dur	. kech	. hazàrjíl	.	.
stone	. ghar	. zèr	. zìr	. song	. koika
sun	. yir	. khhèr	. khir	. álmán, urmuz	. mera
sweet	. khhuẓg	. khhegh	. khaish	.	.
sword	. shop kōz	. khub	. shap-ched.	.	.

T.

teeth	. dündük	. dhándán	.	.	. lànd
ten	. dhas	. dhes	.	. dàs	. dah
turban	. sallà	. dastúr	.	. lataí	.
thigh	. lang	. bikhtun	. bastún	.	.
three	. trúi	. haròì	.	. tràì	. sharaí
thread	. zütr	. vürgh	. vudrash	.	.
throat	. alqum	. alqüm	.	. ghàr	.
tongue	. zik	. ziv	. zeb	. zulúk	.
trousers	. shawàlak	. shim	.	. var	. shoál
trouser-band valvâsh	.
two	. búì	. dhao	.	. dú	. òo

U.

up	. wuch	. tèr	.	. vráz	. valgha
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V.

vein reg	.
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W.

water	. yupk	. khâts*	. shads	. vik	. yàogha
water-mill	. khadhorg	. khadhòrj	.	. khadàri	. khàirgha.
way	. vadhak	. pând	.	. pànda	.
went	. ragd	. sūt	.	. shet	.
wheat	. ghidim	. zandam	. zandum	. ghandam	. ghandam
where, whi-	.	.	.	.	.
ther	. kum-jài	. ko-júi	.	. ko-jui	. ko
white	. rukhn	. spèid	.	. ispèd	. sùpi
who	. kúi	. chòi	.	.	. kad
woman	. kōnd	. ghin	. zind, ghín	. kóch T.	. zinga
wood	. shung	. khüing	.	.	. iskavat

Y.

yellow	. zard	. zird	. zîrú (پَرْدِ زَرْدِ zîrd)	.
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* It will be remembered that in Sarikolí *kh* stands for *sh*. The word *khâts* (*shâts*) therefore is very like the Shighni *shads*.

N. B.—I have not thought it necessary to mark the words which have a more or less close resemblance to Persian.

ADDENDA.

The following words may be added to the 'Comparative Table, shewing the connection of the Ghalchah Languages with neighbouring Tongues'—

ENGLISH.	INDIAN.		GHALCHAH.		PERSIAN.	
	<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>			<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
pine-tree	. pita	.	. pit	.	.	.
wool	. ūna	. ūn	. wân	.	.	.
smell	. baodha	. bo	. bao	.	. baodha	. bū



JOURNAL

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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. III.—1876.

Popular Songs of the Hamirpur District in Bundelkhand, N. W. P.
No. II.—By VINCENT A. SMITH, B.A., C.S.

In fulfilment of the promise which I made in my paper on the Songs in honour of Hardaul, I now submit to the Society some further specimens of the popular songs of Bundelkhand. Very little attention has hitherto been paid to the variety of Hindí spoken in this province, and few or no specimens of it have as yet been published; I hope therefore that the specimens which I am now placing on record, and which in general accurately reflect the popular speech, will not be without value to the lexicographer and philologist, and that besides their philological value the songs will not appear devoid of interest on other grounds.

The songs in common use among the people are almost infinite in number, and might be divided into various classes. The selection which I have made for the present paper, consists entirely of Caste Songs, that is to say, songs which describe, or specially refer to, the occupations and characteristics of the caste of the singer. Such songs are sung on various occasions, but are I am informed seldom sung except in presence of the members of the caste to which the song refers, and to which the singer belongs.

Of the twelve songs now translated, eleven were collected during the last rainy season at my request by Pañdit Murli Dhar in his native town Maudhá and the neighbouring villages. The Lodhí's Song, No. X, was lately obtained by him from a Lodhí resident in Panwári, the south-western parganah of this district. None of these songs appears to have been ever before reduced to writing, and they have now been taken down exactly as

pronounced; I am satisfied that no corrections nor amendments have been introduced. Although the specimens which I have selected for publication happen all to be songs of the inferior castes, it must not be supposed that these Caste Songs are known only to the lower classes, for I possess Brahman, Rájput, Baniyá, and Káyath songs of the same kind.

My translations are all literal; one song only, *viz.*, that of the Khangárs, No. VIII, I have rendered into rhyme as an experiment, but in general I am inclined to think that a prose translation is preferable: many of these songs indeed are not capable of being rendered into English verse with any approach to accuracy.

The first three songs, namely the Goldsmith's, Blacksmith's, and Carpenter's are specimens of a numerous class, and consist of little more than a rhyming catalogue of the goods made or the wares sold by the singer's caste fellows. My collection comprises similar compositions sung by the Halwái (confectioner), Bharbhúnjá (grain-toaster), Tamokí (*pán*-seller) and other castes. I need hardly observe that in India generally each trade forms a separate caste.

The *Kahár's* song (No. IV) is a grumbling lament over the hardships of the life of the carrier of burdens, which will be readily appreciated by all who have ever travelled in a *pálkí*.

The Barber's and the Khangár's songs (Nos. V and VIII, respectively) are somewhat satirical, and note with amusing candour some of the less creditable characteristics of those castes.

The Khangárs,* now a low and despised race, and often acting as menials of the zamíndárs of the higher castes, once played an important part in the history of Bundelkhand, and held state at Karár, 17 miles from Jhánsí, whence they were expelled by the Bundelas. They are still the zamíndars of some villages in the Jhánsí and Hamírpur districts, but in the greater part of Hamírpur, they hold the office of village watchmen, and enjoy the reputation of being as great thieves as any of those whom they are set to watch.

In Parganah Jaitpur, the Basors or sweepers replace the Khangárs as the village watchmen, and everywhere they are employed as basket-makers and musicians. They are spoken of indifferently as Basor, Basor, or Dumár, and sometimes the name Dom is used for this caste. I am not at present able to say whether the sweepers of this district are identical or not with the Doms of the Benares Province; the latter people occupy a position still more degraded than that of the ordinary sweeper, and are often homeless vagrants. In his song (No. IX), the Basor claims for himself a much better character than the Khangár can pretend to.

* For notes on the Khangárs see N. W. P. Gazetteer, Vol. I, pp. 19, 162, 295, 351, and Beames' Elliott, Vol. I, App., p. 347.

The Kol's Song (No. VI) was obtained from a solitary old Kol labourer who has been residing for some years past in Mauza' Bakcha Chháni in Parganah Maudhá. The village traditions show that long ago the Kols shared along with Gond's, Bhíls, Bhars, and other aboriginal tribes much of the soil of the Hamírpur district, from among the permanent inhabitants of which they have now entirely disappeared, though considerable numbers of the tribe still exist in the hilly parts of the adjoining Bandá district.

The Kol's song appears to me to be one of the most interesting in my collection, and the distinct expression which it gives to the feeling of defiance and distrust with which the savage regards the civilized man, is very remarkable. The language of the song is unusually Sanskritised, but its general meaning would be intelligible to any rustic. Probably in spite of his antipathy to "the men who abide in towns and villages", the Kol composer felt his dignity enhanced by a display of his command over the fine words of the race which he despised.

The song of the Naṭs, (No. VII) who seem to be much the same in this district as elsewhere, calls for no special explanation. Other wandering tribes, specimens of whose songs I possess, are the Beriyás, Kapariyás or Kapar-Mangtás, and the Khunkhuniyás or Ahír-Mangtás.

The *Lodhís' Song (No. X) is a faithful picture of the mode of life of the members of the Lodhí caste, a most important element in the population of the Hamírpur district, especially in the Parganahs of Ráth, Panwári, and Jalálpur. The Lodhís or Lodhas (= Sanskrit *Lubdhaka*) may perhaps be the representatives of a non-Aryan tribe: so far as I have yet ascertained, it appears that they entered the Hamírpur district from the west, and settled in a few villages, from which they colonized numerous others, gradually expelling by force of arms the Bhars and other earlier inhabitants. A curious bronze plate inscription which I lately obtained, records a victory of the Lodhís over the Bhars in 1404 Samvat = 1347 A. D. The Lodhís are excellent cultivators, and in this part of the country are almost the only people who know how to utilize water for irrigation, and to grow sugarcane successfully; in all their labours they are actively assisted by their women, but the description in the song must not be taken as meaning that while the women work, the men are idle, for both sexes are industrious. In Ráth and part of Panwári, the zamíndárs of most of the villages are Lodhís, but their women are not too proud or bashful to work hard in the fields, and it is on this peculiarity that the song lays stress.

The popular songs of Northern India do not testify to such a profound

* According to the census of 1872 there are 58,034 Lodhís in Hamírpur district. The caste is more numerous in Etá only, where there are 73,873. See N. W. P. Gaz., Vol. I, pp. 162, 208, 331.

and widely diffused moral and religious sentiment as do those of the *Dravidian peoples, but songs containing an allegory or a moral are numerous. The Oilman's Songs, Nos. XI and XII, are specimens of this class : my collection includes similar songs of the Kewaṭ (fisherman), Málí (gardener) and Korí (Hindú weaver) castes, some of which, as does No. XI, profess to be the composition of Kabír,† and others claim to be the work of Tulsí Dás. There are I believe a good many disciples of Kabír in the district, chiefly among the lower classes. The Oilman's Songs are printed as recited by a Telí of Maudhá ; the same songs when recited by a native of Hamírpur differed only by the substitution of 'bhargayo' = 'tired', for *girgayo* = 'fallen', in line 2 of No. XI, and in the transposition of the words *mīlaniyān* and *chikaniyān*.

I still refrain from making any detailed examination of the verbal forms in these songs, in the hope of being able to examine the Bundelkhand dialect and sub-dialects at another time with the help of fuller materials.

It is necessary, however, to observe that the more characteristic forms and words of Bundelkhandí must be sought for in the southern parganahs of the British districts of Hamírpur, Bandá, and Jhānsí and in the adjoining native states. The speech of the Lodhís, of which song No. X is a specimen, has some peculiarities of its own. The forms of Hindí spoken in Parganah Maudhá in the east of the Hamírpur district, are intermediate between the dialect of the Doáb and that of southern Bundelkhand, and the songs now published are all (except No. X) specimens of this intermediate variety of Hindí. ‡The Hardaul songs which formed the subject of my last paper, were obtained from a Káyath woman in Hamírpur ; and there is not much difference in the forms used in the Parganahs of Hamírpur, Sumerpur, and Maudhá.

I. The Suna'r's (Goldsmith's) Song.

सुनारों का गीत ।

सुनरा बैद्यो टाट दिहाई

बाखर मौक्त डार सब खाखर गुरसी बीच आग सपचाई

लै सुनार नल फूकन लगयो आगी आगे गाड़ निहाई

घरिया मौक्त डारकर सेना चाँदी दोनोँ दिये गलाई

फिरलै परगहनै में डारे ढंढे जल में लिये बुझाई

* See Gover's Folk Songs of Southern India *passim*.

† For some account of Kabír see Introduction to Dr. Fallon's New Hindústání Dictionary, pp. VIII to X.

‡ In my last paper I overlooked a paragraph in Beames' Elliott, Vol. I, p. 269, which gives a brief notice of the Hardaul legend, differing in some respects from mine.

लियो उठाय हथौरा सुन्दर अरु सरिया पर परी कुठार्ई
 कूटकाटकर गढे मनोहर गहना कारीगरी दिखाई
 बकरा बिबिया कड़ा अनैटा रुचि र भौभ रची चितलाई
 पायजेब बढमोल बनाई घुँघरू एक हजार लगाई
 बने पैजना अधिक ढंगीले कमर शब्द रछ्या मग व्हाई
 साँकर देखि खोलकर साँकर पर्दवार टकटकी लगाई
 देखि जंजीर करगता मोतीचूरदार दोलड़ी सुहाई
 घुँघरूदार हमेल विलोकत चौकी देखत मन ललचाई
 कंठा हार पचलड़ी मोहनमाला गुंज गोफ गरुवाई
 सेली कंठी ब्रह्मा मुदरी आगुरतान आरसी बनाई
 चूड़ा पटा पहेलवा ककना हरैया बंगली मनभाई
 बाजूबन्द बज्रजा जोशन बज्रटा टाड़ै रचे बनाई
 नयुनी बेसर औ लटकौवा पहिरतची मुख बबि बढजाई
 करनफूल अरु डार पुँगरिया बेदी पत्ता रवा जमाई

The Sunār sits with his mat spread,

With all his *iron tools in his wallet, and in the earthen bowl fire brightly kindled ;

Taking his blowpipe the Sunār begins to blow the fire, having fixed the anvil in front.

Into the crucible he throws silver and gold and melts down both,

Then takes them out, casts them into an iron trough, quenches them in cold water ;

He uplifts his good hammer, and on the ingot fall many blows.

By dint of hammering and cutting are fashioned pretty ornaments, the worker's skill is shown ;

Rings† for second toe, rings for little toe, plain anklets, rings for big toe, and hollow tinkling anklets are worked at steadily and heartily ;

Pádejbs‡ of great price are made, fitted with a thousand bells,

Paijánas turned out very handsome, the sound of tinkle tinkle was heard all along the road.

Seeing the§ twisted ankle-chain, the woman from behind the screen opened the door-chain and staid gazing ;

The plain linked chain, and the zone with round links and double band were graceful in her sight,

* *Lwákhhar* = lokhar, i. e. iron tools : *wá* is frequently substituted for medial *o* and *yá* for medial *e*.

† The enumeration of personal ornaments begins with those of the feet and so upwards to those of the ears.

‡ *Pádejbs* and *paijánas* are varieties of ankle ornaments.

§ In the original the same word '*sánkar*' expresses both kinds of chain.

Beholding the *hamel** with bells, and seeing its square pendant, her mind is delighted :

[Also† when beholding] gold necklet, necklace, five-stringed necklace, coral and gold necklace, *gunj* and *goph*, all weighty,

Seli, *kanthi*, plain ring, signet ring, thumb-ring, manufactured finger mirror ;

Chúrá,‡ *paṭá*, *pachhelawá*, *kakaná*, *harraiyan*, charming bangle,

Bájá-band,§ *bajullá*, *joshan*, *bahutá*, *ṭánr* carefully made,

Nose-ring, heavy nose-ring, and pendant, by wearing which the charm of [the wearer's] face was increased :

Also *karanphúl*|| and *ḡhár*, nostril-ornament, fillet, and *pattá* adorned with granules of precious metal.

II.

The Luha'r's (Blacksmith's) Song.

लुहारों का गीत ।

फूकत आग लुहार लुसारी

लै धौकनी बैठ एक पाछे आगे एक निहाई गाड़ी

लोहा तपा निहाई पर घर तापर परी घनन की मारी

खुरपा खुरपी हंसिया तकुवा बनगये तवा फावड़ा कुदारी

चिमटा कुरी कड़ाह हथौरा संडासी औ कुरा कुह्वारी

बरसा कांटा जंजीर कौंदा अरई कुसिया पाँस सँवारी

आरा सुघर दतील घनीला जिसने अमली की जड़ फारी

येथै भौंभा लोल करकुली चाकू बिकुवा पश्र कटारी

The Luhár blows his forge fire,

Holding the bellows one man sits behind, in front another where the anvil is fixed,

* *Hamel* a sort of necklace made of rupees generally, and furnished with a pendant ; also known in other districts as *haikal*.

† The construction of the sentence here is rather obscure, but the word *dekhi* seems to be carried on to the following lines. This line enumerates various kinds of neck ornaments ; *seli* and *kanthi* are similar articles.

‡ *Chúrá*, etc., these are all kinds of bracelets : the *harraiyan* is worn next to, and the *pachhelawá* farthest from, the hand.

§ The ornaments enumerated in this line are worn on the arm above the elbow.

|| *Karanphúl* and *ḡhár* are kinds of earrings ; the *pattá* is worn in the upper part of the ear.

The heated iron being placed on the anvil, on it fall the sledge-hammer blows ;

Khurpá,* *khurpí*, sickle, spindle, baking-plate, *pháorá*, *kudári*, are made,

Also tongs, knife, boiling pan, hammer, forceps, and razor and axe,

Drill, nail, chain, hasp, ox-goad, ploughshare, share of *bákhart*† plough are constructed ;

Also the saw, well made and closely toothed, which severs the root of the tamarind tree ;

Thenthá,‡ *jhánjhá*, plummet, iron-ladle, clasp-knife, iron-claw, battle-axe and dagger.

III.

The Barhai's (Carpenter's) Song.

बढ़र्योँ का गीत ।

बढ़ई काठ सुधारनचारा

साखू और सीगवन शीशम चीड़ फारकर डारा

देहली सुघर दुरौंध बनाया बाजू और किवारा

पाटी सिरा भवाँये पाया रुचि २ पलंग सुधारा

चौकी तख्त कलन्दरशाही पिदुली पाँव पसारा

पीढ़ा साची उड़नखटोला हिण्डोला गढ़डारा

मना और पालकी खंभा कौँवर गोलगरारा

भाति २ के गढ़ै कटौता कठवाकोलनचारा

The Barhai is a good worker in wood,

Sákhú,§ *Shiisham*, and teak timber he splits and cleaves,

Well made door-step, lintel, door-posts and doors he makes,

Having prepared side-pieces, head and foot pieces, and turned feet he constructs a bed-stead,

Chairs, and thrones fit for Kalandar Sháh, and block stools on|| which you could stretch your legs,

* *Khurpd*, *khurpí*, *pháorá*, *kudári*—the well known tools which supply the place of the English hoe, spade, and pickaxe.

† The *bákhhar* is an instrument peculiar to, or at least chiefly used in Bundelkhand. It is employed to take the hard surface crust off fields, and to clear away surface weeds.

‡ *Thenthá* is an instrument with a flat blade and long handle, used in cooking, to press down cakes, etc., on the pan. *Jhánjhá* is a perforated ladle.

§ *Sákhú*, a forest tree : *shiisham* or *sirsái* = *Dalbergia Sissoo* (*Roxburgh*).

|| This seems to be the meaning of the words *pánw pasárá*.

Large stools, four-legged stools, 'flying cots'* and swings he constructs,

Curtained *pálkis*, and ordinary *pálkis*, poles and *bahangís*† and round well-pullies,

Of all sorts he makes, also wooden bowls :—he knows how to hollow timber.

IV.

The Kahár's (Bearer's) Song.

कहारेँ का गीत ।

सबसे उद्दिम दुरा कहारी

काँवर घड़ा पालकी ढोवन काँध टूट भई खपरी कारी

जहँ २ भई झँक में देरी तहँ २ चलत जूत सहेँ गारी

सब बरात में वाहन पावै आप और को देत सवारी

Of all trades the worst is the Kahár's ;

With carrying *bahangís*, pitchers and *pálkis*, his shoulders get broken and his skull blackened :

Whenever delay occurs in the stage, then straightway the slipper is applied, and he must put up with abuse.

All men in a wedding procession get carriage, he himself has to carry others.

V.

The Na'í's (Hindu' Barber's) Song.

नाइयोँ का गीत ।

सबसे नाई बड़ा खिलाड़ी

लेकर सिली नहरनी बूरा करी तयार कुराँड़ी

चोटी पकड़ सबों को मूँडा बगल मँह औ डाढ़ी

गोलाफिरवा शिर में रखकर कलम नुकीली काढ़ी

मूँड़ कर पेट चलावे खेती करै न बारी

पेटी बगल दबाकर छोटा हाथलिये रजगारी

Of all men the barber is the greatest trickster,

With his whetstone, nail-parer, and razor, he gets ready his tool bundle ;

* The words *uran khaṭola* are explained to me as being used in a proverbial sense to mean 'very fine cots', i. e. as good as those which are described in fairy tales.

† *Kánwar* means the same as *bahangi*, the well known pair of baskets slung from a pole, so much used in India.

He catches people by the top knots, and *clean shaves them—armpit, moustache, and beard,

Leaving a round tonsure on the head, he points off the side locks,
By clean* shaving he fills his belly, neither field nor garden has he ;

With his bundle† under his arm and his brass water-pot in his hand,
he gets his living.

VI.

The Kol's Song.

कोलों का गीत ।

देखऊ बनवासिन की रीती

गिर कन्दरन बसहिँ दिन राती कबहुँ न कोल सटावहिँ भीती

जो नर रक्षत नगर घासन में तिन की कबहुँ न करहिँ प्रतीती

उरा सदा राक्षसीरन को लूटहिँ बाँड़ धर्म अरु नीती

सपनेहुँ अन्न देख नहिँ पावत बनफल खात जन्म गयो बीती

कोलन साँभ होत सुखिया बह जायो सकहिँ न सब मिल जीती

Behold the ways of the dwellers in the woods !

In hills and caves they dwell, never neither for night nor day build the
Kols a wall,

In men who abide in towns and villages never will they put trust,

The camp of travellers they always plunder, regarding not the law of
God nor man ;

In dreams even, corn they never see, wood fruits they eat—so their
life passes.

Among the Kols the Chief is he whom all men united cannot subdue.

VII.

The Nat's (Juggler's) Song.

नटों का गीत ।

बाँस गाड़ नट नाच दिखावत

कलाजंग कुलहटी बाँस पर मारत आप और को सिखावत

जैसे नचत किलकिला नभ पर ऐसेहि नचत गीत बह गावत

देखत जहाँ डोल कहु सुन्दर तहाँ ठिक जात बावनी बावत

The Nat plants a bamboo pole and shows off his dancing,

* *Munrá* = 'clean shaved', with a double entendre.

† *Peñi* means the same as *chhuráñri* in line (2) of this song.

Acrobatic and tumbling feats he performs himself upon the pole and teaches to others,

As the kingfisher dances in the sky, so he while dancing sings many songs :

Wherever he sees a good opportunity, there he halts and roosts himself in.

VIII.

The Khangar's Song.

खंगारों का गीत ।

देखऊ खंगरन की चतुराई

घोड़ा घिसै पैकिछा खेलै गावहिँ गीत ढोलकी बजाई

चौकी देखिँ चोर को ताकै कबहुँ आप खुद लेहिँ चुराई

खोरनर फिरहिँ रान दिन घूमर चौकसी दिखाई

How smart the Khangar is who can tell ?

He can groom a horse and play tumbler as well,

He can sing a song and perform on the drum,

And while watching the thief, himself steal some :

From lane to lane he prowls on his way,

And is ever watchful night and day.

IX.

The Duma's (Village Sweeper's) Song.

डुमारों का गीत ।

सबसे अधिक बसोड़ कसाऊ

झींटा टुकना दौरी जोड़ी पंखा बिनत करत मन चाज

बेचत दाम लेत नगदौवल राखत मन में चरब उझाह

डफुला ढोल नगाड़ा सुन्दर मद्धत न कबु जिय करत दुराज

सब बाजा निज हाथ बजावत बैसुरी सुनतन बद्धत उमाह

औरन को मैला निस वासर साफ करत नहिँ मन दुरभाज

Of all men the Basor is the best worker,

**Chhinṭā*, *ṭuknā*, *daurī*, and *orī* baskets and fans he plaits willingly,

He sells for cash down and keeps in jolly good spirits,

Tambourines, drums, and kettle-drums he covers nicely with leather,
and he has no thoughts hidden :

* *Chhinṭā* = a broad shallow basket; the word is used in line (3) of Song No. X.
Ṭuknā = a smaller basket used for grain, etc. *Daurī* = the flat basket used for irrigating and other purposes. *Orī* = a very large basket.

All instruments he plays with his own hands, those who hear his flute are much delighted.

Night and day he clears away dirt for other people, and never shows ill-temper.

X.

The Lodhi's Song.

लोधियों का गीत ।

लोधन के घर लोग लुगाई
लोगवन डार मारकर कुछा चुरियन देकर ढाँक पताई
पार लौड़िये सिर धर कौटा डार गल्याफौ रथार दिवाई
खुरपर के भीलभाँखरौ खरौ चाँकै करत निदाई
कोदवन के खाटा औ लचका डुभरी लाटा खाय बनाई
तरसा नचै रहट पुर हाँकै करै बराही के सिचवाई
गवाड़ौ डार गुजरियाँ चुन्ना विरथा सहेँ कुदुभ गरवाई
लोधवा लोगवाग सब मिलके खाँ लुधिनियन को जू कसाई

The Lodhís' house-folk* are their women,—

[The Lodhí woman] putting men aside, girt with her waist-cloth,† packing‡ *dhák* leaves between her bangles,

Puts her little girl to bed in a basket on her head, with a wrapper above and a cloth spread underneath ;

Stubbing up briars and brambles, and scraping up grass, she does her weeding ;

Kodo§ bread, and gram pottage, *mahuá* paste, and *mahuá* sweetmeats she makes and eats ;

Attaching the bucket, she works the Persian|| wheel and well, and waters the sugarcane ;

* *Log* or *lugwá* (and in Maudhá *lugaund*) means here 'males' as distinguished from *lugaí* 'women', and the words are so used in common speech.

† *Kustá* = the waist-cloth, but little fuller than a man's *dhoti*, worn by adult women of the lower castes, and by young girls of the higher castes in Bundelkhand ; it leaves most of the leg bare.

‡ *i. e.* to prevent the bangles from being troublesome and interfering with her work. The form *patái* seems to be used only for the sake of the rhyme.

§ *Kodwan* is plural. *Rwátá*, not *rotí*, is always used to mean bread made of *kodo* or *sáwdn*. The *mahuá* (*Bassia latifolia*) is very abundant in the Hamirpur district, and its flowers are much used for food.

|| The Persian wheel (*rahat*) is in this district used only in the southern parganahs. *Baráhi* or *barháí* is the Bundelkhandí synonym for the *ikh* or *úkh* of other parts of the country.

Wearing on her leg heavy toothed* and stocking-anklets she needlessly bears a plaguily heavy load ;

The Lodhis, small and great, Sir, one and all, eat the fruit of their women's toil.

XI.

Teli's (Oilman's) Song, No. 1.

तेलियोँ का गीत ।

तिलकी घानी परै तिलिनियाँ

लाठ टूटगयो कोलू चटक गयो गिरगयो वाको बैल चिकनियाँ

खरी बिगड़ गई कचरा खदर गयो तेल बिगड़कर भयो तिलपनियाँ

घूमतर आपड़ गिरगई साथ गिरैया वाको खसम मिलनियाँ

कहत कबीर सुनौ भाई साधव ऐसेही गिरजैहै सब दुनियाँ ॥ १ ॥

The Teli's wife was grinding the charge of oil seed ;

The upright beam broke, the mill cracked, her sleek bullock fell,

The oil cake spoiled, the residuum went bad, the oil spoiled and became watery ;

From going round and round she fell, and with her fell her worthy husband.

Quoth Kabir, 'Hear, good brother, just so the whole world shall fall.'

XII.

Teli's (Oilman's) Song, No. 2.

सब बल तजि भज रामगुसाई

नाचिन भ्रमकोलूमे परकर पिरिहै तिलघानी की नाई

जैसे ब्रधम तैलकारनको तरसहि बाहर को मनमाही

ऐसेही माया मे फँसकर तुमझ तरसिहै सोरे साई

यथा तेल जल मेल जगत मे ऐसहि तुमझ मिलि सबपाही ॥ २ ॥

All deceit abandon, worship Rám the Lord ;

Otherwise, dropping into the oil mill of error, you will fall down as does the charge of oil seed,

Just as the oilman's bullock longs to go out [but cannot],

Even so will you long, O husband mine, when entangled in vanity.

As oil† and water mingle in the world, just so should you mingle with all men.

* The pewter and brass ornaments worn by the low caste women in Bundelkhand are very heavy and rattle like fetters : the *chullá* fits the leg like a stocking.

† i. e. as oil lies on water without mingling, so should you be in the world, but not of it.

List of Rare Muhammadan Coins.—No. II. (Coins of the Kings of Dihli, Málwah, Bengal, Kulbarga, and Kashmír.—By J. G. DELMERICK, Dihli.

(With two plates.)

DIHLI'.

Khusrau Sha'h.

Plate V, No. 1. New variety. Silver and copper. Weight, 51 grs. A. H. 720.

ابو المظفر	السلطان
خسرو شاه	الاعظم ناصر الدنيا
السلطان ٧٢٠	والدين

Muhammad bin Tughluq Sha'h.

Plate V, No. 2. Silver. Weight, 170 grs. A. H. 732.

في عهد	والله
محمد بن	الغني و انتم
تغلق	الفقراء

Margin— بخضره دهلي سنه اثنى وثلثين و سبعمائة

Fi'ru'z Sha'h.

Plate V, No. 3. Gold. Weight, 169 grs. A. H. 766.

في زمن الامام	السلطان الاعظم
امير المؤمنين	سيف امير المؤمنين
ابى عبد الله	ابو المظفر فيروز شاه
خلد خلافته	السلطاني خلد
	مملكته

Margin— ضرب هذا بحضرة دهلي سنه ست وستين و سبعمائة

Muhammad bin Fi'ru'z Sha'h.

Plate V, No. 4. Gold. Weight, 170 grs. A. H. 793.

في زمن الامام	السلطان الاعظم
امير المؤمنين	محمد شاه فيروز شاه
خلدت خلافته	سلطاني خلدت
٧٩٣	مملكته

Ibra'hîm Sha'h Su'r.

Plate V, No. 5. Copper. Weight, 292 grs. A. H. 962.

السلطان	في عهد
ابو المظفر	الامير السكاسي
ابراهيم شاه	لدين الديان
خلد الله ملكه	٩٦٢

Akbar Sha'h.

Plate V, No. 6. Gold. Weight, 166 grs. *Julús* 5.

تا زمين و آسمان را مهرانور زيور است	مهر مهر شاه اكبر آبروي اين زر است
خورداد الهي ه	ضرب آگره

Plate V, No. 7. Gold. Weight, 164 grs. *Julús* 5.

بران زر نام شه نور علي نور	زر است از مهر اكبر بادشاه نور
ضرب آگره	ه

Plate V, No. 8. Gold. *Mihrábí*. Weight, 167 grs. A. H. 981.

يا معين	الله اكبر
٩٨١	

Jaha'ngi'r.

Plate V, No. 9. Gold. Weight, 200 grs. A. H. 1015.

شاه نور الدين جهانگیر ابن اكبر بادشاه	روی زرا ساخت نوراني بزرگ مهر و ماه
١	ضرب لاهور ١٠١٥

In the *Tuzuk-Jahángirí* (Sayyid Ahmad Khán's edition, page 5), *Jahángir* states that the couplet on this coin was the composition of the *Amír-ul-Umará*, or Muhammad Sharíf.

Plate V, No. 10. Gold. Weight, 165 grs. A. H. 1018.

شاه نور الدين جهانگیر ابن اكبر بادشاه	سكه زد در شهر آگره خسرو گيتي پناه
ه	١٠١٨

Plate VI, No. 11. Silver. Weight, 220 grs. A. H. 1017.

بنام شاه جهانگیر سكه لاهور	بدهر باد روان تا فلک بود در دور
١٠١٧	ع

Plate VI, No. 12. Silver. Weight, 219 grs. A. H. 1019.

در اسفندارمز این مسکه در	شهنشاه اسم شاه جهانگیر ابن
لاهور زد بر زر	شاه اکبر
۵	۱۰۱۹
Plate VI, No. 13. Silver. Weight, 176 grs. A. H. 1035.	
یافت در آگره روی زر زیور	از جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر
۱۰۳۵	۲۱
Plate VI, No. 14. Gold. Weight, 164 grs. A. H. 1025.	
شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن	زد بزر این مسکه در اجمیر شاه
اکبر بادشاه	دین پناه
۱۱	۱۰۲۵

Sha'h Jaha'n II.

Plate VI, No. 15. Gold. Weight, 169 grs. A. H. 1173.

ضرب جلوس میمنت مانوس	مسکه مبارک شاه جهان بادشاه غازی
احمدنگر فرخ آباد	
سنه احد	۱۱۷۳

He was the grandson of Kám Bakhsh, the youngest son of Aurangzib, and was called Muhiyy-ul-Millat.* He was placed upon the throne by Ghází-ud-dín 'Imád-ul-Mulk after the assassination of 'Alamgir Sání on the 8th Rabí-us-Sání, A. H. 1173. Muzaffarí has it that he reigned until the 9th Safar, A. H. 1174, when the Bháo before quitting the capital to engage with the Abdálí, deposed him and appointed Prince Jawán Bakht, the son of Sháh 'Álam, in his place. This statement appears to be correct; for I also possess a silver coin of Sháh Jahán II., struck in A. H. 1174. Thus he reigned for a whole year and a month. His ultimate fate is unknown.

Beda'r Bakht.

Plate VI, No. 16. Gold. Weight, 169 grs: A. H. 1202.

ضرب دارالخلاف شاهجهان آباد	بزر مسکه زد والی تاج و تخت
سنه احد جلوس میمنت مانوس	محمد جهان شاه بیدار بخت
	۱۲۰۲

* Beale in his Miftáh-ut-Tawárikh, page 342, says his name was Muhiyy-us-Sunnat. On the other hand, Sayyid Ahmad in his A'sár-u-Çanádíd, page 42, states that he was the son of Muhiyy-us-Sunnat, the son of Kám Bakhsh. Sayyid Ahmad is right. Vide also Proceedings, A. S. B., for July, 1876.

I am aware of only two other specimens of the coins of Bedár Sháh, but they are both rupees, and therefore I believe my coin is unique in gold.

One of the silver coins is in the collection of Mr. Mark Thornhill, late B. C. S., and has been described in the list of that gentleman's coins by Nawáb Muhammad 'Abd-ul 'Azíz Khán, a Pleader of the Judge's Court at Farrukhábád, in a publication of the Bareli Literary Society in 1867.

The other is, I believe, in the cabinet of the late Col. Guthrie. A rubbing of it was sent by Col. F. W. Stubbs to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and noticed in their proceedings for May 1871; and a promise was made at the time that a drawing of it would be published, but I understand that as the coin itself was never sent to Calcutta, no drawing was ever made or published.

In addition to Mr. Blochmann's remarks regarding Bedár Bakht in the Proceedings for May 1871, which are very interesting, I may add that Bedár Sháh nominally occupied the throne for only two and a half months. He soon disgusted his patron Ghulám Kádir Khán by his puerilities, such as flying kites (*patang-bází*) in the public streets, &c., and after the flight, capture, and execution of Ghulám Kádir Khán by the Marhāṭas, Bedár Sháh was for a short time kept in confinement in Salimgarh, but afterwards suffered a cruel death. His body was thrown into a hole near the Náo Mahall, a building which formerly existed in the vicinity of the Dihlí gate of the Fort.

The *Tárikh-i-Muzaffarí* contains a good narrative of the events which resulted in the elevation of Bedár Shah. Mr. Seton-Karr's Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes for 1774 to 1788 are interspersed with several notices of Bedár Sháh and of the revolution at Dihlí. See also Captain Francklin's "Life of Sháh 'Álam", pages 181 to 195; but by far the best and most comprehensive account of the transactions is to be found in "Keene's Mughal Empire", Book II, Chap. VI, pages 169 to 189.

Bahá'dur Sháh.

Plate VI, No. 17. Silver. Weight, 171 grs. A. H. 1257.

ضرب جلوس میمنت مانوس

دار الخلافت شاه جهان آباد

سنه ٥

ابو المظفر سراج الدین محمد

بہادر شاہ

بادشاہ غازی

۱۲۵۷

The last of the Mughuls, who was sentenced to banishment for life for complicity in the Mutiny of 1857. He died at Rangoon on 7th Nov. 1862. His coins are rare. Lord Ellenborough stopped the issue of money in the name of this Titular in the cold season of 1842-43. Before that on the

occasion of certain "Jashans" or festivals, such as the "Nauroz" and the anniversary of his coronation, &c., coins used to be specially struck in his name and offered as a part of the customary *nazar* by the Resident on behalf of the British Government. See also Kaye's Sepoy War, Vol. II, page 12 and Appendix.

MÁLWAH.

Hu'shang Sha'h Ghori'.

Plate VI, No. 18. Gold. Weight, 170 grs. No date.

ابو المصباح	السلطان
هوشنگ شاه	الاعظم حسام
السلطان	الدنيا والدين

Margin.—Cut away.

Mahmu'd Sha'h Khilji'.

Plate VI, No. 19. Gold. Weight, 169 grs. A. H. 870.

مسكندر الثاني	السلطان الاعظم
يمين الخلافة ناصر	علاء الدنيا والدين
امير المؤمنين	ابو المظفر محمود شاه خلجي
	خلد الله خلافته

Margin.—ضرب هذه السكة بحضرة شادي اباد سنة سبعين وثمان مائة.

BENGAL.

Baha'dur Sha'h

Plate VI, No. 20. Gold. Weight, 165 grs. A.H. 728.

ضرب بالامر الواقع	السلطان المعظم
بالله محمد بن	غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر
تغلق شاه	بها در شاه السلطان
	ابن السلطان

Margin.—هذه السكة بحضرة سناركانو منه ثمان وعشرين وسبعماية

For a single silver specimen, lost in the Mutiny and no longer in existence, see coin No. 186, page 215 of Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi.

Husain Sha'h.

Plate VI, No. 21. Gold. Weight, 162 grs. A.H. 905.

سلطان حسين شاه	السلطان
بن سيد اشرف الحسيني	العاذل علا الدنيا
خلدت ملكه ٩٠٥	والدين ابو المظفر

Another gold coin, dated A. H. 907, has been figured and described by Mr. Blochmann in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I, No. 3, for 1874.

BAHMANÍ.

Ahmad Sha'h.

Plate VI, No. 22. Gold. Weight, 166 grs. A. H. 853.

السلطان	ابو المظفر علا
مؤيد الاسلام	الدنيا والدين
جامع الفضل والعدل	احمد شاه بن احمد
والاحسان	شاه السلطان ٨٥٣

Mahmud Sha'h.

Plate VI, No. 23. Gold. Weight, 170 grs. No date.

المتوكل علي	ابو المغازي
الله القوى الغني	محمود شاه بن محمد شاه
السلطان الاعظم	الولي البهمني

Margin.—Cut away.

KASHMÍR.

Muhammad 'Alí' Sha'h.

Plate VI, No. 24. Silver. Weight, 96 grs. A. H. 986.

ظهير الدين محمد علي بادشاه	ضرب كشمير
٩٨٦	

Margin.—نهصد و هشتاد و شش

Muhammad Yu'suf Sha'h.

Plate VI, No. 25. Silver. Weight, 94 grs. A. H. 987.

منير الدين محمد يوسف بادشاه	ضرب كشمير
غازي	٩٨٧

Margin.—نهصد و هشتاد و هفت

Firishtah says that 'Alí Sháh was killed by a fall from his horse in A. H. 986, and was succeeded by his son Yúsuf. *Vide* also Aín Translation, I, p. 478.

The Bhars of Audh and Banáras.—By PATRICK CARNEGIE, Commissioner of Rái Bareli, Audh.

Who are the Bhars ?

This is a question that has very often been asked since the British became possessed of the Province of Banáras, and more especially since they annexed Audh. Probably no one has devoted more thought to the solution of this question, or has had greater opportunities of considering it closely than the writer, and he therefore proceeds to answer it by the light of his own enquiries.

There is unquestionable evidence that Ayodhyá, near Faizábád, was the capital of the solar race of Chhatrís, many centuries before the Christian era. That this race was Aryan and Sanskrit-speaking does not admit of doubt. The writer is in possession of numerous Bactrian coins, bearing Greek and Sanskrit inscriptions, of the Kadphisis and Kanerko groups, portions of two large hoards of many hundreds each, which were discovered in Ayodhyá and near Sultánpúr. Not a single coin was found in either of these hoards of any subsequent mintage, which is proof positive that these coins had remained hidden where they were eventually found in old metal vessels, since they formed part of the currency of the day. Time, the 1st and 2nd centuries, B. C. We may from this with perfect confidence assume that the Sanskrit-speaking races were dominant in Ayodhyá and Audh from before the days of Rámchandra and the Rámáyan down to after the commencement of our ~~era~~ ^{B. C.}

Our path is next illuminated ~~by~~ ^{by} another historical glimpse. In the 4th and 6th centuries the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hian and Hiouen-Tsang visited Hindústán, when Buddhism was still dominant throughout the land, with its chief centre at Sahet-Mahet, on the Gonda-Bahráich border, the Rome or Jerusalem of that creed. At Ayodhyá, at Banáras, at Kanauj, at Kashmir, and at all the other chief centres of ancient fame, Buddhism was found to be paramount; at the same time, however, inimical as the two religions may have been to each other, temples dedicated to Brahma were also found by the pilgrims at all the places named.

To Numismatics we owe our next clue. Within the writer's observation four sets of debased gold or silver coins of the second Kanauj series, have been found in the Faizábád, Bahráich, and Partábgarh Districts, of which he has various specimens, and amongst these not a single coin of a more modern date was discovered. Moreover, in the Asiatic Society's Journal for January 1841, page 98, we have copy of a land grant of Jayachandra found near Faizábád, and sent by the Resident, Colonel Caulfield, to James

Prinsep. Here then we have proof absolute that Kanauj was the territorial capital of north-east Audh 6 to 900 years ago.

About that time, too, we arrive in the more immediate region of direct history, with the Muhammadan advent and conquest, A. D. 1000—1200. It is denied by no one that on the arrival of these invaders they found in possession, and soon overthrew, the Tomárs of Dihlí, the Ráthors of Kanauj, and the *Bhars*, who were found to be in universal possession of the soil of north-east Audh and Banáras. And it is with the last two of these classes that we have any present concern.

Literature and science have brought us so far, and up to this point speculation and theory have been alike avoided; we must now fall back on tradition, and see what that may bring forth. The late Mahárájá Sir Mán Singh, K. C. S. I., himself a Brahman amongst Brahmans, was a scholar and a savant as well as a politician and a soldier, and it was the privilege of the writer to know him intimately and to receive much valuable information from him connected with Audh and its peoples. The writer has also had access to some of the most learned paṇḍits of the day, including Umadat of Ayodhyá, and Súraj Náráin of Aldemau, a former pupil of the Banáras College, and the information received from such sources as these, so far as it relates to the subject in hand, he now proposes to utilize for the purposes of this paper.

Centuries of Brahmanism which the want of tact of its priesthood had made intolerable to the secular members of the community, had given place to centuries of Buddhism, during which sway was at different times held ~~over Audh by dynasties which had Gayá (Magadh) and Sahet-Mahet~~ ^{over Audh by dynasties which had Gayá (Magadh) and Sahet-Mahet} (Siri-Bastu) as their respective ~~capitals~~ ^{capitals}. But the ardour of perverts does not last for ever, and so for yet another term of centuries, came a period during which the people troubled themselves but little about religion and caste; the Hindu Pantheon was forgotten and forsaken, and but little attention was paid to even the well known gods in whose hands alone rested the powers of creation and destruction.

The writer has repeatedly been assured by Sir Mán Singh, and Paṇḍit Umadat, that during the present century an inscription was discovered in the mound known as the *Maniparbat* in Ayodhyá, which attributed its construction to Rájá Nanda Bardhan of Magadh, who is generally accredited with the suppression of Brahmanism there, and with the establishment of the non-caste system which then became general. This inscription was seen and read by both of these gentlemen, and was sent into Lakhnau in Náçir-ud-dín Haidar's time, but all attempts to trace it further have proved abortive. After this third period, the period of atheism, gleams of Brahmanical light again began to appear in Ayodhyá many centuries ago, and with this circumstance is traditionally associated the name of Vikramáditya

of Ujjain. Its position on the Sarjú, and the survival through many vicissitudes of the shrine of Nagesar Náth Mahádeo led to its identification. But it was probably long after this, and perhaps some ten centuries ago, that the great Brahmanical revival, which had Ajmír for its centre, commenced, and which in time reached eastwards even to Ayodhyá.

It was, as we have been informed, when the power of the Gayá dynasty waned, that Ayodhyá became the apple of discord between the rulers of Kanauj and Sahet-Mahet, and then it was that Chandardeo Ráthor (regenerated Buddhist) and Sirí Chandar (Buddhist and Ex-Súrajbans Chhatrí) referred their pretensions thereto to the issue of the sword, when a great battle was fought at the modern Satrik, which ended in the downfall of the latter, (the former vanquisher of Sayyid Sálár) and the overthrow of his creed and capital. Time, the early half of the eleventh century. Thus came it to pass that those whom the Chinese pilgrims had found to be Buddhists in Dihlí, in Ajmír, and in Kanauj, in the 4th and 6th centuries of our era, were found by the Muhammadans six hundred years later, restored nominally at any rate to the Vedic faith of their fathers. The Buddhists were believed to be disregards of caste distinctions, but this was not universal, and for a time at any rate the perverts from Brahmanism to Buddhism maintained their caste distinctions; because the Chinese pilgrims refer to Kusala, "with its Kshatriya king of the Buddhist faith"; another king is mentioned as a Kshatriya "and a zealous Buddhist"; and of a third it is said that though a Brahman he patronizes the Buddhist religion. Lastly, the pilgrims were "particularly struck with the minute observances of caste". It would thus appear that in the 4th and 6th centuries the perverts; they were indeed in some instances maintained till the Brahmanical revival; for it is believed that the rulers of Dihlí continued to call themselves Tomárs and Ráthors both before and after that event.

But whether it was during the Buddhist supremacy or at a later time when religion and its accessories became greatly neglected, there can be no doubt that for a considerable period before the Muhammadan conquest the distinctions of caste had altogether disappeared, and the soil of north-east Audh and Banáras had become possessed by a single god-neglecting, caste-disregarding race, whom it is the fashion amongst the natives of the day, who are mostly their descendants, to treat with the utmost disdain.

Here I answer the question put at the beginning of this paper, this god-neglecting caste-disregarding race were the Bhars!

There is nothing either astonishing or improbable in this, for we have the authority of the great lawgiver Manu that "all those tribes of men, who sprang from the mouth, the arm, the thigh, and the foot of Brahma, but who became outcastes by having neglected their duties, are called Dásyus,

or plunderers, whether they speak the language of Mlechchhas or that of Aryas." *Dásyu* is a common word used in old Hindu writings to indicate such outcastes as the Bhars, Bháls, Chíros, Gonds, and Kols, most of whom, strange to say, still keep up a Rájput tribal nomenclature, and most of whom are gradually becoming again uplifted and enlisted into the fraternity of Rájputés. Family vicissitudes are thus treated by Manu:—"Should the tribe springing from a Brahman by a Sudra mother, produce a succession of children by the marriages of its women with other Brahmins, the low tribe shall be raised to the highest in the seventh generation. As the son of a Sudra may thus attain the rank of a Brahman, and as the son of a Brahman may sink to a level with the Sudra, even so must it be with him who springs from a Kshatriya; even so with him who was born a Vaisya."

These quotations from the famous Code of Hindu Ethics surely make it very clear that there was a general Brahmanical fall, when distinctions of language even did not prevent the people from becoming a universal family of *Dásyus* or outcastes, a family known in the area of which we treat as *Bhars*; and they also explain how in the general Brahmanical revival that finally followed, these robbers and plunderers were admitted once more to all the privileges and beatitudes of the twice-born.

Many years of the official life of the writer have been devoted to duties which involved the examination of the genealogies of some of our oldest and best native families, and the results of his enquiries have led him to the following conclusions: (1) That not a single member of the landed gentry or local priesthood can trace back to an ancestor who held an acre of land, ~~or who administered a spiritual function, within the area under enquiry~~ during the Bhar supremacy; (2) ~~That scarcely any of them can trace~~ back to an ancestor who came into Audh at the Muhammadan advent, when the Bhars, who were then in universal possession of the land, were overthrown; and (3) That the great mass of the landowners of to-day can trace no further back than to an ancestor whose origin is easily discovered to be both indigenous and spurious.

Referring to the *first* of these three classes, it amounts unquestionably to this; that in what was once the very heart and soul of Hindústán, the much vaunted birthplace of the solar race and of Hinduism, there was not a single Hindu landowner left in it, and it had become overrun by pagans, when the Muhammadans conquered it; but no sooner had that event taken place, than not a pagan was to be seen anywhere; they had utterly disappeared, and the country at once became peopled again with orthodox Hindus, with their veds and their pandits, just as if they had never left it.

In regard to the *second* of these classes, the writer thinks it expedient here to quote some remarks from a treatise by him on the 'Races of Audh':—

"I have found the opinion so generally entertained that there was a Rájput conquest and colonization of Audh, that it requires a distinct answer. The theory which I have broached and supported in this paper (of the Bhars of old being the Hindus of to-day), is invariably met by the argument that it opposes the declarations of a clear and general tradition. It is argued that in spite of specious theories to the contrary, such a tradition cannot in its main features be false; that if to satisfy the pride or envy of the more recent converts, an origin was invented for them, it would have been more consistent with the gradual growth of the Brahmanical creed, to assert a continuous adherence to it, than immigration by force of arms: that if the Rájput clans retained the shameful tradition of illegitimate alliances with low caste women, the fact affords strong grounds for crediting the remainder of their traditional history.

"To this argument there is but one reply. I have not discovered the existence of any such central tradition of conquest by Rájputs from without, as that on which the argument entirely rests. It is stated in some of the books to which we commonly refer, but it is not the statement of the Rájput clans of Audh. I can refer to the histories of many Rájput clans. We find accounts of their origin, some mythical, some confused, and some not very honorable; but none of them declare, as do many of the Muhammadan legends, the arrival of an army of clansmen, and colonization by the victors with their families and kin.

"The very fact of the singular connections to which so many of the clans trace their descent, is opposed to the idea of a conquest by arms. An orthodox Hindu, the conqueror of a low-born race, ~~would not have founded~~ a family by an alliance which his religion sternly rebuked. He would, like his Muhammadan contemporaries, have summoned his wife and children to the new country which his prowess had won. The tradition of descent from a pure Chhatrí may point to what is possibly true, that some pure Chhatris did immigrate into Audh as Buddhism waned, of which the province was the cradle and head quarters, and there is evidence to shew that Buddhism retreated from the west and south to the north through Audh. That the western Chhatris were, therefore, earlier returners to the Brahman creed than the inhabitants of north-east Audh, and sent representatives to this province before the final decay of Buddhism and the Bhars, is not surprising. It is finally noticeable that the Audh clans who claim an extra-provincial origin, trace their descent to single Chhatris, and not to troops of Rájput invaders. Such are the Bais of Baiswára, who claim to descend from Tilokchand, who came from the Central Provinces, and the Rájkumárs, from Barriar Singh, a Chauhan of Manipuri, through whom they claim kindred with Prithiráj of Dihlí. With these two exceptions none of the clansmen of eastern Audh claim a western origin."

In regard to the *third* class, it is always invidious to enter into details of *pedigrees*, but a few amongst very many available instances may be given. The Kanpúriá is one of our most important clans; so is the Bandelgot. In twenty generations according to the members, both these pedigrees are lost in obscurity; but what the world says is this, that they are the offspring of mal-alliances between two Brahman brothers, and women of the Ahír and Dhárkar castes. The Amethia is not an unimportant clan. They call themselves Chamár-gor Rájputés, and their generations are not longer than the others named. What the world says of this, is that a Chamár-gor is the offspring of a Chamár father and a Gor-Brahman woman. Moreover within the memory of man, an Amethiá Chief has, according to Sleeman, taken to wife the grand-daughter of an ex-Pási Chowkidar, and raised up orthodox seed unto himself. The Raotars are another numerous clan with but half the number of generations, and with precisely a similar parentage as the Kanpúriás (Brahman-Ahír). Their name is taken from Rawat, an Ahír Chief. The Pulwars are influential and numerous, and of these it is said that they are descended from a common ancestor, who had four wives, of whom one only was of his own status, the others being a *Bharin*, an Ahírín and another low caste woman. Here we have a Hindu-Bhar origin freely admitted. The Bhalesaltan clan, also, is comparatively modern, and of equivocal Ahír origin. There are numerous families of Bais, too, who are in no way related to the Tilokchandí Bais of Baiswára. The former are modern and equivocal, the term Bais being, it may be mentioned, the most ready gate by which enlistment into the fraternity of Rájputés could formerly be achieved. ~~The most proud and haughty of our clansmen have not been slow to take to themselves wives from the mammon of unrighteousness, in the shape of the daughters of those whom we have shewn above to be of equivocal origin, and so in the result, their offspring, our contemporaries, are little better than their neighbours. Add to this the fact that owing to daughters being as a general rule put to death as soon as they were born, wives had almost invariably to be purchased, through those who were as great adepts at cheating in respect of caste, as horse-dealers are elsewhere, in passing off screws, and it will be admitted that it really does not very much signify who the fathers of Audh were, for if its mothers were not Ahírs and Bhars, there is no certainty that they were at all better than if they had been members of those classes. Finally, all those land-owning families who can only urge an indigenous origin, must, whether they admit it or not, recognize the fact that they are descendants of Bhars, for every acre of land was owned, and the country was throughout peopled, by these alone, and by no others.~~

The next point to which we shall refer is *language*. Notwithstanding the evidence we have that Audh was peopled by the solar race of Hindus

before our era, it has been said that the Bhars who peopled and held the soil and who are as modern as the Muhammadans, were aborigines. If so, they must have had a language. But they had not. Documents of older date have been found, but no Bhar writing was ever heard of; and we have it on the authority of an Ouseley, an honoured name in oriental lore, that the Bhars were of Sanskrit-speaking origin, otherwise that they were Aryans, otherwise that they were demoralized Hindus. The parganas of Bhardoi, Bharosá, Bahráich, and Bharolí, and the town of Bhartipur (near the Bhar capital, Kusbhawanpur *alias* Sultánpúr,) are all believed to derive their names from the Bhars; in modern times they have assumed the pronunciation of Badoi, Barrosá, Baráich, and (Rái) Barelí. Sleeman also mentions a large district of nearly a thousand villages near Mahamdí, which even in his day was known as *Bharwárá*, now occupied by Ahban Rájputs.

On the point of *religion* we have no reason for supposing that the Bhars were by any means devout, still they were no doubt superstitious, and in some sort of way they revered and made sacrifices and offerings to the powers of creation and destruction. In Baiswárá the universal belief is, that the Bhars of the past are the Ahírs of our day. That of course amounts to an admission that they were Hindus. It also accounts for an Ahír origin being given to so many of our Rájput clans, as already pointed out. Sir Henry Elliot, too, traced an affinity between Bhars and Ahírs. Mr. Benett, in his history of the Rái Barelí clans, mentions that "the tomb of the Bhar chieftains (Dal and Bál, slain by the Muhammadans,) is still at Pakraulí, rather more than a mile from Dalmau, and is celebrated by a fair in the autumn, at which great numbers of Ahírs collect, ~~and offer milk to the souls of the departed heroes.~~" The writer has seen this shrine which ~~contains idols, supposed to be the headless bodies of the deceased chiefs who were decapitated and turned into stone, but which are only hideous representations of the goddess of destruction.~~ These idols are worshipped not only by Ahírs (whom, according to Sir George Campbell, other Hindus include amongst the respectable classes, because they are in charge of the sacred cow), but by all other Hindus as well, including even Brahmans. Had the Bhar chiefs whom these idols are said to represent, been pagans, or other than Hindus, it is scarcely to be supposed that their tomb would have remained to this time the object of Brahmanical adoration.

Since the writer first addressed himself to the consideration of subjects akin to the present, his views and opinions in regard to the working upwards in the religio-social scale of the different sects of Hindus, have received most unexpected and remarkable confirmation from the very able writings of Mr. Alfred Lyall, B. C. S., on Hinduism as a missionary religion, &c. He has already instanced cases of the movement upwards by marriage. He can at this moment lay his hand on families of Brahmans who were made

Brahmans to meet the momentary and temporal necessities of a man of influence. So also he can name families who are now Rájput (if not Chhatris), because it had been their good fortune to render service as menials to a man who had the power to reward it. These are comparatively modern instances of the movement upwards. Moreover, the Mahants of the far-famed Monkey-temple of Ayodhyá, revered of all good Hindus, are recruited from all classes of Hindus, even to the lowest, and having gone through their discipleship, they receive reverence and homage from the highest in the land. It can scarcely, therefore, with truth be contended that Hinduism is not a missionary religion, or that social advancement is fettered by caste prejudice.

It must always be kept in mind that the change from Brahmanism to Buddhism did not involve an absolute change of religion, it was a universal protest against priestly intolerance—just as Protestants rose against Roman Catholics, or the Free Kirk of Scotland rebelled against State interference, and in process of time, when the cause that brought the schism about, had been forgotten, the heretics again quietly lapsed into the old faith, apparently as a matter of course, just as we hear it said that the tendency of the day is for the Free Kirk to return to the Establishment. Had there been an absolute change of religion, it might have been very different. At the same time we have before our eyes an instance to show how difficult it is for natives to change, and it strongly supports our position that throughout the Buddhist and Atheist periods the traditions of caste were not altogether lost. We know that 400 years ago the Muhammadan dynasty of Jaunpúr made ~~converts to their faith in~~ no measured degree, the practical result being that nearly every one of our older Rájput clans has its Muhammadan or Khán-záda branch; but such is the tenacity of consanguinity and custom, that while on the one hand, the perverts retain all their old Hindu ordinances and rituals, and are allowed to join in all the domestic ceremonials of the Hindu portion of their clans, by the names of which, moreover, they still continue to be known, the old Muhammadans on the other hand, who profess to disregard caste, will not readily marry with the perverts, and hesitate not to show them the cold shoulder on every possible occasion. Here we have an absolute change of religion, notwithstanding which all caste forms and distinctions have been scrupulously maintained for more than 400 years. Does this not support the position that in the other instance, in which there was first a mere modification and afterwards a temporary neglect, but no absolute relinquishment of creed, the old traditions were burnished up and the old rituals and forms once more revived with the return of god-fearing, caste-respecting days. To shew that the breach between a Brahman and a Buddhist is not so very wide as we are taught to suppose, it may be mentioned that at this moment all the Jain-Buddhist temples at Ayodhyá are in charge of a Gor Brahman!

One of the things about the Bhars which create surprise, is that the numerous old mounds on which we still find traces of their habitations, and which are known throughout the country as *Bharádís* (or *Bhar-ábádís*), are usually found strewed with burnt bricks and other débris, indicative of a better class of residences than are adopted by the agricultural population of these days. The reasons for this, however, are not difficult to assign. There is nothing more certain in political economy than that the land can only in comfort support a certain number of lives; and one of the difficulties of the future, is what we are to do with our surplus population. Eastern Audh is at this moment the most densely peopled tract in the world, and day by day as population increases and the margin of culturable waste becomes smaller, the means of the people, derived so largely from agriculture, will become individually smaller. In the days of the Bhars, population was sparse, and land plentiful, the people consequently were in better circumstances. Moreover, Audh was then covered with jungle. Even the eastern or most advanced portion of it, was known as Banaudha, the "Audh forest". Wild animals inhabited the woods. It followed that people who were comparatively well off, should secure themselves from beasts of prey, by using bricks and tiles in the construction of their houses, rather than the mud and reeds which poverty and security have now made universal.

There are few things more misleading and untrustworthy than the definitions which natives, however well educated, offer in explanation of the names of tribes and localities; and every effort to find a reasonable rendering of the term *Bhar* has as yet failed. Tod mentions that in the times to which this paper refers, the people of Rájputáná became united into a single great family conglomeration, and they were called *Bhumiya*. This is a well known term indicative of connection with the soil, and means neither more nor less than *agriculturist*. This was precisely the position occupied by the Bhars in the territory peopled by them, and for all we know to the contrary, the name may have some similar meaning.

It is denied by no one that 500 years ago no one but the Bhars owned a single acre of land in these parts, but not a single inch of land has been owned by the Bhars since the Muhammadan conquest. In fact but few of the tribe are now to be found, and these few follow such degrading occupations as keeping swine, in the most eastern portion of Audh. Whether these are the same as the Bhar rulers of the past (whom Mr. Thomason refers to as the Ráj-Bhars of Rámá's time) or not, it is impossible to say, but they now worship the same gods as the Hindus, and by general admission they are Hindus. The Rájputés and the Rájbhars of old were not above caring for the good things of this life—and whatever the former may do now, they then eschewed neither pork nor strong drink. The Bhars of to-day are as liberal in their views on these things as their ancestors were, and the only oath they really respect is associated with wine.

We began this paper with a reference to the teachings of science and literature, and we shall end it in the same way. Books have told us of the sovereignty of the Súrajbars of old and the Ráthors of more recent times. The coins of Bactria and Kanauj have confirmed what these books have said of these races of rulers, and land-grants of the last mentioned dynasty have added to this confirmation. But neither book nor coin nor grant throws even the faintest ray of light on a people who possessed the land at a still more recent period ; and whose sway, over the territory inhabited by them, was for many centuries universal. The historians who might perhaps have been able to tell us the facts, are the Buddhists, or their successors the Jains, who have locally disappeared : from the Brahmins we are not likely to receive further information. It is not, however, impossible that enquiries carefully conducted at Mount Abú, at Parasnáth, and at Kaṭmandú, may yet throw light upon a subject which is still involved in obscurity. The Ayodhyá of old has always been intimately connected with those localities. Some half dozen of the Jain Hierarchs (*tirthankaras*), who afterwards died at the first two mentioned of those places, were natives of Audh, and it was from Abú that the Brahmanical revival gradually spread over the country which eventually reached even to Audh. The historians of those quarters may not have the same motives for secrecy that our Brahmins, who alone can have the information here, possess, and to them only can we therefore look satisfactorily to elucidate this mystery.

Akbar or Jahāngīr. Its very first couplet is a compendium of the theory upon which the whole Vaishnava reform was based :

Bhakt-bhakti-Bhagavant-guru, chaturanām, vapuek :

which declares that there is a divinity in every true believer, whether learned or unlearned, and irrespective of all caste distinctions. Thus the religious teachers that it celebrates are represented not as rival disputants—which their descendants have become—but as all animated by one faith, which varied only in expression ; and as all fellow workers in a common cause, *viz.* the moral and spiritual elevation of their countrymen. Nor can it be denied that the writings of the actual leaders of the movement are instinct with a uniform spirit of asceticism and detachment from the world and a sincere piety, which are very different from the ordinary outcome of Hinduism. But in no case did this catholic simplicity last for more than a single generation. The great teacher had no sooner passed away than his very first successor hedged round his little band of followers with new caste restrictions, formulated a series of narrow dogmas out of what had been intended as comprehensive exhortations to holiness and good works ; and substituted for an interior devotion and mystical love—which were at least pure in intent, though perhaps scarcely attainable in practice by ordinary humanity—an extravagant system of outward worship with all the sensual accompaniments of gross and material passion.

The Bhakt-mālā, though an infallible oracle, is an exceedingly obscure one, and requires a practised hierophant for its interpretation. It gives no legend at length, but consists throughout of a series of the briefest allusions to legends, which are supposed to be already well-known. Without some such previous knowledge the poem is absolutely unintelligible. Its concise notices have therefore been expanded into more complete lives by different modern writers, both in Hindī and Sanskrit. One of these paraphrases is entitled the Bhakt Sindhu, and the author, by name Lakshman, is said to have taken great pains to verify his facts. But though his success may satisfy the Hindu mind, which is constitutionally tolerant of chronological inaccuracy, he falls very far below the requirements of European criticism. The work is however useful, since it gives a number of floating traditions, which could otherwise be gathered only from oral communications with the Gosains of the different sects, who as a rule are very averse to speak on such matters with outsiders. It will be seen in the sequel that no dependence can be placed upon the details of the narrative, and that the dates are all hopelessly wrong. In the original Bhakt-mālā of Nābhā Jī, the stanza referring to Hari Dās stands as follows :

मूल ।

आशधीर उद्यान कर रसिक बाप हरिदास की ॥
जगलनामसे नैम जपत नित कुंजविहारी ॥

अविलोकत रहैं केलि सखी सुखको अधिकारी ॥
 गौनकला गंधर्व श्यांशश्यांसाकों तोषैं ॥
 उत्तम भोग लगाय मोर मरकट तिमि पोषैं ॥
 नृपति द्वार ठाढे रहैं दरशन आशा जास की ॥
 आशधीर उद्योत कर रसिक बाप हरिदास की ॥

which may be thus translated :

Tell we now of Hari Dās, the pride of Āsadhīr, who sealed the list of the saints ; who, bound by a vow to the perpetual repetition of the two names of Kunj-bihārī, was ever beholding the sportive actions of the god, the lord of the Gopīs' delights ; who was a very Gandharv in melodious song and propitiated Syāma and Syāmā, presenting them with the daintiest food in daily sacrifice and feeding the peacocks and monkeys and fish ; at whose door a king stood waiting in hope of an interview ; Hari Dās, the pride of Āsadhīr, who sealed the list of the saints.

In most MSS. of the Bhakt-Mālā each stanza of the text, or *mūl*, is followed by the *tīkā* of Priya Dās composed in the *Sambat* year 1769 ; the word *tīkā* in this case being more appropriately translated by 'supplement', rather than 'commentary' ; as the later writer gives no explanation of the original text, but adds entirely new matter of his own. The following is his encomium on Hari Dās :

टीका ।

श्री स्वामी हरिदास रसराशि को वर्षानि सकै
 रसिकताकी बाप जोई जाप मधि पाईहै ॥
 ल्यायै कोज चोवा वाको अति मन भोवा वामै
 डारयौ लै पुलनि यह घोवा हिय आइयै ॥
 जानिकै सुजान कही लै दिषवौ लालप्यारे
 नैशिकु उघारे पट सुगंध बुडाइयै ॥
 पारमपधान करि जल उरवाइदियै
 कियौ तव शिष्य अैवै नाना विधि गाइयै ॥

which may be thus rendered :

Who can tell all the perfections of Srī Swāmī Hari Dās, who by ever muttering in prayer the sacred name, came to be the very seal of devotion. Some one brought him perfume that he valued very highly ; he took and threw it down on the bank ; the other thought it wasted. Said the sage knowing his thoughts : Take and shew him the god : he slightly raised the curtain ; all was drenched with perfume. The philosopher's stone he cast into the water, then gave instruction : many are the legends of the kind.

Probably few will deny that at least in this particular passage the disciple is more obscure than his master ; and the obscurity, which is a

sufficiently prominent feature in the English translation, is far greater in the Hindi text, where no indication is given of a change of person and a single form answers indifferently for every tense of a verb and every case of a noun. The Bhakt-Sindhu expands the two stanzas into a poem of 211 couplets and supplies a key to all the allusions in the following detailed narrative :

Brahm-dhīr, a Sanādh Brāhman of Kol or Jalesar, had a son Gyān-dhīr, who entertained a special devotion for Krishna under his form of Giridhāri—‘the mountain-supporter’—and thus made frequent pilgrimages to the holy hill of Gobardhan. On one such occasion he took to himself a wife at Mathurā, and she in due time bore him a son whom he named As-dhīr. The latter eventually married a daughter of Gangā-dhar, a Brāhman of Rājpur—a small village adjoining Brindāban—who on the 8th of the dark fortnight of the month of Bhādon in the *Sambat* year 1441 gave birth to Hari Dās. From his earliest childhood he gave indications of his future sanctity, and instead of joining in play with other children was always engaged in prayer and religious meditation. In spite of his parents’ entreaties he made a vow of celibacy, and at the age of 25 retired to a solitary hermitage by the Mān Sarovar, a natural lake on the left bank of the Jamunā, opposite Brindāban. He afterwards removed to the Nidh-ban in that town, and there formally received his first disciple, Bithal-Bipul, who was his own maternal uncle. His fame soon spread far and wide, and among his many visitors was one day a Khattri from Delhi, by name Dayāl Dās, who had by accident discovered the philosopher’s stone, which transmuted into gold everything with which it was brought in contact. This he presented as a great treasure to the Svāmī, who however tossed it away into the Jamunā; but then seeing the giver’s vexation, he took him to the margin of the stream, and bade him take up a handful of sand out of the water. When he had done so, each single grain seemed to be a facsimile of the stone that had been thrown away and when tested was found to possess precisely the same virtue. Thus the Khattri was made to understand that the saints stand in no need of earthly riches, but are complete in themselves; and he forthwith joined the number of Hari Dās’s disciples.

Some thieves however hearing that the sage had been presented with the philosopher’s stone, one day when he was bathing, took the opportunity of stealing his *sālagrām*, which they thought might be it. On discovering it to be useless for their purpose, they threw it away under a bush, and as the saint in his search for it happened to pass by the spot, the stone itself found voice to tell him where it lay. From that time forth he received every morning by miraculous agency a gold *muhr*, out of which he was to provide the temple-offerings (*bhog*) and to spend whatever remained over in the purchase of grain wherewith to feed the fish in the Jamunā and the peacocks and monkeys on its banks.

One day a Káyath made him an offering of a bottle of *atar* worth Rs. 1,000, and was greatly mortified to see the Swāmī drop it carelessly on the ground, so that the bottle was broken and the precious essence all wasted. But on being taken to the temple he found that his gift had been accepted by the god, for the whole building was fragrant with its perfume.

Again, a minstrel at the court of the Delhi Emperor had an incorrigibly stupid son, who was thereupon expelled in disgrace. In his wanderings he happened to come to Brindāban, and there threw himself down on the road to sleep. In the early morning the Swāmī, going from the Nidh-ban to bathe, stumbled over him, and after hearing his story gave him the name of Tán-sen, and by the mere exercise of his will converted him at once into a most accomplished musician. On his return to Delhi, the Emperor was astonished at the brilliancy of his performance, and determined himself to pay a visit to Brindāban and see the master under whom he had studied. Accordingly, when he was next at Agra, he came over to Mathurá, and rode out as far as Bhat-rond—half-way—whence he proceeded on foot to the Nidh-ban. The saint received his old pupil very graciously, but took no notice of his royal companion, though he knew perfectly well who he was. At last, as the Emperor continued begging that he might be of some service, he took him to the Bihári Ghát close by, which for the nonce appeared as if each one of its steps was a single precious stone set in a border of gold; and there shewing him one step with a slight flaw in it, asked him to replace it by another. This was a work beyond the capacity even of the great Emperor; who thereupon contented himself with making a small endowment for the support of the sacred monkeys and peacocks and then went his way after receiving a most wearisome amount of good advice.

No further incident is recorded in the life of Hari Dās, the date of whose death is given as *Sambat* 1537. He was succeeded as Mahant by his uncle Bithal-Bipul; and he by Bihárin Dās. The latter was so absorbed in enthusiasm that a Sárasvat Bráhmaṇ, of Panjábí extraction, by name Jagannáth, was brought over from Kol to administer the affairs of the temple: and after his death the succession was continued through several other names, which it seems unnecessary to transcribe. Thus far the narrative of the Bhakt-Sindhu, which, it will be seen, affords an explanation of the obscure allusions in the Bhakt-Málá to the two presentations of the *atar* and the philosopher's stone, the daily feeding of the monkeys and peacocks and the Emperor's visit. In other matters, however, it is not at all in accord with the traditions accepted by the Swāmī's descendants; for they say that he was not a Sanádh by caste, but a Sárasvat; that his family came not from Kol or Jalesar, but from Uchh near Multán, and that he lived not four centuries ago, but at the most only three. It would seem

that the author of the Bhakt-Sindhu was the partisan of a schism in the community, which occurred about 50 years or so ago, and that he has moulded his facts accordingly ; for the Jagannāth whom he brings over from Kol is not named in a genuine list of the Mahants, which will be given hereafter. That he is utterly at fault in his dates, *sambat* 1441—1537, is obvious at a glance ; for the Emperor who visited Brindaban was certainly Akbar, and he did not ascend the throne till *sambat* 1612. It is true that Professor Wilson in his Religious Sects of the Hindus, where he mentions Hari Dās, describes him as a disciple and faithful companion of Chaitanya, who was born in 1485 and died in 1527 A. D. But although Hari Dās had imbibed the spirit of Chaitanya's teaching, I know of no ground for maintaining that there was any personal intercourse between the two ; had it been so, the fact would scarcely have escaped record in the Bhakt-Málá or some one of its modern paraphrases. Moreover, I have by me a small *pothi* of 680 *patras*, which gives a complete list of all the Mahants and their writings from the founder down to the date of the MS., which is *sambat* 1825. The list is as follows : Swāmī Hari Dās, Bithal-Bipul, Bihārini Dās, Nágari Dās, Saras Dās, Naval Dās, Narhar Dās, Rasik Dās and Lalit-Kishori, otherwise called Lalit-mohani Dās. Allowing 20 years for each incumbency, which is rather a high average, since only an elderly man would be elected for the post, the date of Hari Dās's death is thrown back only as far as *sambat* 1665. His writings moreover are not more archaic in style than the poems of Tulsi Dās, who died in *sambat* 1680 ; and therefore on all grounds we may fairly conclude as an established fact that he flourished at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century A. D., in the reigns of the Emperors Akbar and Jahángír.

Each of the Mahants named in the above list is described as being the disciple of his immediate predecessor, and each composed some devotional poems, which are known as *sákhis*, *chaubolas*, or *padas*. The most voluminous writer is Bihārini Dās, whose *padas* occupy 684 pages. In many of them he expresses the intensity of his mystical devotion in terms of exaggerated warmth, which are more suggestive of an earthly than a divine passion. But the short extract that follows is of a different character, and is of special interest as confirming the conclusion already stated as to the date of Hari Dās ; since it mentions by name both the Emperor Akbar and also the death of his famous friend Bírbar, which occurred in 1590 A. D.

॥ राग गौरी ॥

कहा गर्वे रे स्तक नर ॥

खान स्यार को खान पान तन जेठि चलत रे निलज निडर ॥

यहै अवधि बड विदित जग वांभन बडे भये वीरवर ॥

भरत दूखो हियो न जियो कियो न सदाइ साहि अकवर ॥

* खासन निकसत सुर अक्षुर राषे रोथि काल करतर ॥
 इतहि न उतहि वीचही भूखो फूलो है फिरत कोनके थर ॥
 सुखद सरन हरिचरनकमल भजि वादि फिरत भटकत घरघर ॥
 श्रीविहारीदास हरिदास विपुलवल लटकि लग्यो संग सर्वेपर ॥

Translation.

Why boastest thou thyself, O mortal man? thy body shall be the prey of dogs and jackals, though without shame or fear thou now goest delicately. This is known throughout the world to be the end of all: a great man was the Brāhman Bīrbar, yet he died, and at his death the Emperor Akbar was sad of heart, nor himself longer lived nor aught availed. When gods or demons breathe out their life, Death holds them in his maw, suspended,† neither here nor there, but in an intermediate state. All astray and swelling with pride, on whom is thy trust? Adore Hari's blessed lotus-feet; to roam and wander about from house to house is all vanity. By the strong aid of Hari Dās, Bihārini Dās has found and laid hold of the Almighty.

The founder of the sect has himself left only two short poems, filling 41 *patras*, entitled *Sādhāran Siddhānt* and *Ras ke pada*. The former is here given both in the original text and in a translation. Most of the habitués of the temple know the greater part of it by heart, though I have ascertained that very few of them have more than the vaguest general idea of the meaning. Even the best-informed of the Pujāris—Kishori Chand—who went over it carefully with me, supplied an interpretation of some passages which after consultation with other Paṇḍits I could see was quite untenable and was obliged to reject. The connection of ideas and the grammatical construction are often so involved, that it is highly probable my version may still be not altogether free of errors, though I have done my best to eliminate them. The doctrine inculcated does not appear to differ in any essential point from the ordinary teaching of the other Vaishnava sects: the great duties of man, by the practice of which he may have an assured hope of attaining to ultimate salvation, being defined as submission to the divine will, detachment from the world, and an unquestioning faith in the mystery of the incarnation.

॥ ० ॥ अथ श्रीखामीहरिदासजीकृत साधारणसिद्धांत लिख्यते ॥ ० ॥

॥ रागविभास ॥

ज्यौंहि ज्यौंहि तुम राषतहौ ल्यौंहि ल्यौंहि रहियतहै हो हरि ॥
 और नौ अचरचे पाय घरौं सु नौ कहौ कौनके पंड भरि ॥

* One MS. for *svāsan nikasat* reads *trās nikasi na sakat*.

† *Routhna* has the same meaning as the more common term *jugāti karnā*, 'to ruminate', like a cow.

जयप हैं अपनौ भायौ कियो चाहै कैसैं करि सकैं जो तुम राखौ पकरि ।
 श्रीहरिदासके खांमी श्यामाँकुंजविहारी
 पिंजराके जनावर लौं तरफराय रहौ उडिबेकौं कितोक करि ॥ १ ॥
 काहूको वस नाहि तुम्हारी कृपातें सब होय श्रीविहारीविहारनि ॥
 और मिथ्या प्रपंच काहेकौं भाषियै सो तौ है हारनि ॥
 जाहि तुमसैं हित तासैं तुम हित करौ सबसुषकारनि ॥
 श्रीहरिदासके खांमी श्यामाँकुंजविहारी प्रांननिके आधारनि ॥ २ ॥
 कवळं कवळं मन इत उत जात यातें अब कौन है अधिक सुष ॥
 वडत भति नयत आनि राखौ नाहितौ पाव तौ दुष ॥
 कोटिकामलावन्य विहारी तातें मुहांचुहीं सब सुष लिखें रहत रुष ॥
 श्रीहरिदासके खांमी श्यामाँकुंजविहारी दिन देषत रहैं विचित्र मुष ॥ ३ ॥
 हरि भजि हरि भज कांडि न मान नरतनकौ ॥
 जिन वंझैरे जिन वंझैरे तिलतिल धनकौं ॥
 अनमार्गें आगें आवैगो ज्यौं पल लागें पलकौं ॥
 कहि हरिदास भीव ज्यौं आवै त्यों धन है आपनकौं ॥ ४ ॥

॥ राग बिलावल ॥

ए हरि मोसौ न विगारनकौं तोसैं न संझारनकौं मोहि तोहि परी होइ ॥
 कौनघों जीतै कौनघों हारै परिवदी न होइ ॥
 तुझारी माथाबाजी पसारी विचित्र मोहे मुनि काके भूले कोइ ॥
 कहि हरिदास हम जीतै हारे तुम तऊ न तोइ ॥ ५ ॥
 वंदे अषत्यार भला ॥
 चित न डुलाव आव समाधि भीतर न होइ अगला ॥
 न फिर दरदर पदरदर न होइ अंधला ॥
 कहि हरिदास करता किया सो ऊवा सुमेर अचल चला ॥ ६ ॥
 हित तौ कीजै कमलनैनसैं जा हितके आगें और हित लागै फीकौ ॥
 के हित कीजै साधुसंगतसैं ज्यौं कलिमधि जाय जीकौ ॥
 हरिकौ हित जैसे जैसौ रंग मजीठ ॥
 संसारहित जैसे जैसौ रंगकसूम दिनदुतीकौ ॥
 कहि हरिदास हित कीजै विहारीसैं और निवाह जीकौ ॥ ७ ॥
 तिनका बधारके वस ॥
 ज्यौं भावै त्यों उडाय लेजाय आपनैं रस ॥
 ब्रह्मलोक शिवलोक और लोक अस ॥
 कहे श्रीहरिदास विचार देखै बिना विहारी नाहि जस ॥ ८ ॥

संसार समुद्र मनुष्य मीन नक्र मगर और जीव वज्रवंदसि ॥
 मन वचार प्रेरे सनेहज्जंद फंदसि ॥
 लोभ पिंजर लोभी मरजिया पदारथचारि षंदषंदसि ॥
 कहि हरिदास तेई जीव पारभये जे गहि रहै चरन आनंदमंदसि ॥ ९ ॥
 हरिके नामकौ आलस कित करतहै रे काल फिरत सर सांघे ॥
 बेर कुबेर कछू नहि जानत चह्यौ फिरतहै कांघे ॥
 हीरा वज्रत जवाहरसंचे कच्चा भयो हली दरवांघे ॥
 कहि श्रीहरिदास मद्दलमै वनिता वनठाढीभई
 तव कछू न चलत जव आवत अंतकी आंघे ॥ १० ॥
 देषो इनि लोगनिकी लावनि ॥
 वृक्षत नाहि हरिचरनकमलकौं मिथ्या जन्म गवावनि ॥
 जव जमदूत आय घेरतहै करत आप मनभावनि ॥
 कहै श्रीहरिदास तवही चिरजीवै कुंजविहारी चितावनि ॥ ११ ॥
 मन लगाय प्रीति कीजै कर करवा सो ब्रजवीथिन दीजे सोहनी ॥
 छंदावनसौ वनउपवनसौ गुंजमाल हाथ पोहनी ॥
 गो गोसुतनसौं नृगी नृगसुतनसौं और तन नैक न जोहनी ॥
 श्रीहरिदासके खांमी श्रौंकाकुंजविहारी सो चित औ सिरपर दोहनी ॥ १२ ॥

॥ राग कल्याण ॥

हरिकौ असैई सब खेल ॥
 नृगलक्षणा जग व्यापि रह्यौ है कलं विजौरौ न वेलि ॥
 धनमद जोवनमद राजमद औं पंखिनमें डेल ॥
 कहै श्रीहरिदास यहै जिय जानौ तीरथकौसौ मेल ॥ १३ ॥
 साई धनि वे नृगी जे कमलनेनकों पूजित अपने अपने भरतारन सचित ॥
 धनि वे गाइवळ वेई जे वंशरस पीवत अवन दोना औं जाइ न वहत ॥
 पंखीन होहि मुनिजन जेते केते सेवहि दिन कामक्रोधलोभरहित ॥
 सुनि श्रीहरिदास हमारे पतिते कठिन न जान दें चये राषत गहत ॥ १४ ॥

॥ राग वरारौ ॥

लाल मेरे दूधकी दोहनी ॥
 मारग जात गहि रह्यौ री अंचरा मेरो, नाहिन देतहों विना वोहनी ॥
 नागरि गूजर ठगिलीनो मेरा लाल गोरौचनकौ तिलक साथै सोहनी ॥
 श्रीहरिदासके खांमी इहां असैई न्याव है या नगरी जिन वसो री सोहनी ॥ १५ ॥

॥ राग कान्हरो ॥

भूठी बात साँची करि दिषावतहै हरि नागर ॥
 निसि दिन वुनत उघेरतहै जाय प्रपंचकौ सागर ॥
 ठाठ वनाथ घरै मिहरीकौ है पुरुषतैं आगर ॥
 सुनि हरिदास यहै जिय जानौ सुपनैकौसौ जागर ॥ १६ ॥
 जगतप्रीति करि देखी नाहिनें गठीकौ कौज ॥
 कचपति रंकलौ देखै प्रकृति विरोध न वन्यों कौज ॥
 दिन जु गये वज्रत जन्मनके असौ जावौ जिन कौज ॥
 सुनि हरिदास सीत भलौ पावौ विहारी असै पावौ सब कौज ॥ १७ ॥
 लोग तौ भूल्यौ भलैं भूल्यौ तुम मति भूलौ मालाधारी ॥
 आपनौ पति बाँडि औरनिसैं रति औं दारनिमें दारी ॥
 स्याम कहत जे जीव मोतैं विमृष जोकौंन जिन दूसरी करडारी ॥
 कहि हरिदास जज्ञ देवता पितरनकौं भरधा भारी ॥ १८ ॥
 जौलौ जीवै तौलौ हरि भजि रे मन और बात सब वादि ॥
 द्यौस चारके हलाभला मै तू कहा लेगौ लादि ॥
 धनमद जोवनमद राजमद भूल्यौ नगर विवादि ॥
 कहि श्रीहरिदास लोभ चरपटभयौ काहेकी लगै फिरादि ॥ १९ ॥
 प्रेमसमुद्ररूपस गहिरै कैसैं लागै घाट ॥
 बेकारौदै जानि कहावत जानिपन्यों की कहा परी वाट ॥
 काह्नकौ सर छूधौ न परै भारत गाल गलीगली हाट ॥
 कहि श्रीहरिदास जानि ठाकुर विहारी तक्त न छोटापाट ॥ २० ॥
 इति श्रीस्वामीहरिदासजीकृत साधारणसिद्धांतकेषद संपूण ॥

Translation of the Siddhānta of Svāmī Hari Dās.

Rāg Bibhās.

1. O Hari, as thou disposest, so all things abide. If I would shape my course in any different fashion, tell me whose tracks could I follow. If I would do my own will, how can I do it, if thou holdest me back? (The lords of Srī Hari Dās are Syāmā and Kunj-bihāri). Put a bird in a cage, and for all its fluttering it cannot get away.

2. O Bihāri, Bihārini, none else has any power; all depends on your grace. Why babble of vain systems? they are all pernicious. To him who loves you, you shew love, bestowers of happiness (the lords of Srī Hari Dās are Syāmā and Kunj-bihāri), the supporters of all living creatures.

3. At times the soul takes a flight hither or thither; but it finds no greater joy. Discipline it in every way and keep it under, or you will

suffer. Beautiful as a myriad Loves is Bihári; and Pleasure and all delights dwell in his presence (the lords of Srī Hari Dás are Syámá and Kunj-bihári), be ever contemplating his manifold aspects.

4. Worship Hari, worship Hari, nor desert him out of regard for thy mortal body. Covet not, covet not the least particle of wealth. It will come to you unsought, as naturally as one eyelid drops upon the other. Says Srī Hari Dás, as comes death, so comes wealth, of itself: *or* like death, so is wealth—an evil.

Rág Bilávali.

5. O Hari, there is no such destroyer as I am, and no such restorer as thou art: * betwixt me and thee there is a contest. Which wins or loses, there is no breaking of the condition. Thy game of illusion is wide-spread in diverse ways; saints are bewildered by it and myriads are led astray. Says Hari Dás, I win, thou lovest, but there is no change in thy love.

6. O ye faithful, this is a good election: waver not in mind; enter into yourselves in contemplation and be not stragglers. Wander not from house to house, nor be in doubt as to your own father's door. Says Srī Hari Dás, what is God's doing, is fixed as Mount Sumeru has become.

7. Set your affection on the lotus-eyed, in comparison with whose love all love is worthless; or on the conversation of the saints: that so the sin of your soul may be effaced. The love of Hari is like the durable dye of the madder; but the love of the world is like a stain of saffron that lasts only for two days. Says Hari Dás, set your affection on Bihári, and he knowing your heart will remain with you for ever.

8. A straw is at the mercy of the wind, that blows it about as it will and carries it whither it pleases. So is the realm of Brahma, or of Siva, or this present world. Says Srī Hari Dás: this is my conclusion, I have seen none such as Bihári.

9. Man is like a fish in the ocean of the world, and other living creatures of various species are as the crocodiles and alligators, while the soul like the wind spreads the entangling net of desire. Again, avarice is as a cage, and the avaricious as divers, and the four objects of life as the four doors of the cage. Says Hari Dás, those creatures only can escape who ever embrace the feet of the son of bliss.

10. Fool, why are you slothful in Hari's praises? Death goeth about with his arrows ready. He heedeth not whether it be in season or out of season, but has ever his bow on his shoulder. What avail heaps of

* For a similar expression of the same sentiment compare the following lines of Śrī Dás: *Mere pápan so, Hari, hari hau—Main garua, tum men bal thora, náhakk hí pichimari hau.* 'O Hari, you are vanquished by my sinfulness; I am so heavy and you so slight, that you get badly thrown.'

pearls and other jewels and elephants tied up at your gate? Says Srī Hari Dās, though your queen in rich attire await you in her chamber, all goes for nothing when the darkness of your last day draweth nigh.

11. See the cleverness of these people: having no regard for Hari's lotus feet, their life is spent to no purpose; when the angel of death comes and encompasses them, he does what seemeth him good. Says Srī Hari Dās: then is he only found long-lived, who has taken Kunj-bihāri to his soul.

12. Set your heart upon securing his love. With water-pot in hand perambulate the ways of Braj and, stringing the beads of your rosary, wander through Brindāban and the lesser groves. As a cow watches her own calf and a doe its own fawns and has an eye for none other (the lords of Srī Hari Dās are Syámā and Kunj-bihāri), be your meditation on them as well balanced as a milk-pail on the head.

Rāg Kalyān.

13. All is Hari's mere sport, a mirage pervading the universe, without either germ or plant. The pride of wealth, the pride of youth, the pride of power, are all like the crow among birds. Says Srī Hari Dās: know this of a surety, all is but as a gathering on a feast-day, that is quickly dispersed.

14. O sister, how happy are the does who worship the lotus-eyed, each with her own lord. Happy too the calves that drink in the melody of his pipe in their ears as in a cup from which no drop can be spilt. The birds too are like holy men, who daily do him service, free from lust, passion, and avarice. Hearken, Srī Hari Dās, my husband is a difficulty; he will not let me go but holds me fast.

Rāg Barāri.

15. O friend, as I was going along the road, he laid hold of my milk-pail and my dress: I would not yield to him unless he paid me for luck. "O clever milk-maid, you have bewitched my boy with the lustre of the *go-rochan* patch on your forehead" (O lord of Srī Hari Dās) this is the justice we get here; do not stay in this town, pretty one.*

Rāg Kānhrau.

16. O clever Hari, thou makest the false appear true; night and day thou art weaving and unweaving; thou art an ocean of deceit. Though

* In two of the three MSS. of the poem that I have consulted, stanzas 14 and 15 are omitted and they appear clearly to be an interpolation by some later hand, being quite out of keeping with the context. They must be regarded as a dialogue between two of the Gopīs and Jasodā.

thou affectest the woman* in form and name, thou art more than man. Hearken ye all to Hari Dás and know of a truth it is but as when one wakes out of sleep.

17. The love of the world has been tested; there is no real accord. See, from the king to the beggar, natures differ and no match can be found. The days of many births are past for ever; so pass not thou. Hearken to Hari Dás, who has found a good friend in Bihári; may all find the like.

18. People have gone astray; well, they have gone, but take thy rosary and stray not thou. To leave thy own lord for another is to be like a strumpet among women. Syámá declares: those men rebel against me who prefer another, and those too (says Hari Dás) who make great sacrifice to the gods and perform laboured funeral rites for departed ancestors.†

19. Worship Hari from the heart as long as you live; all things else are vain. It is only a matter of four‡ days, what need of much baggage. From pride of wealth, from pride of youth, from pride of power, you have lost yourself in mere village squabbles. Says Hari Dás: it is greed that has destroyed you; where will a complaint lie.

20. In the depth of the delights of an ocean of love how can man reach a landing-place? Admitting his helplessness§ he cries, What way of escape is open? No one's arrows fly straight, for all his boasting in street and market-place. Says Srī Hari Dás: know Bihári to be a god who overlooks all defects in his votaries.

End of the Siddhānta of Svāmī Hari Dás.

* In this stanza it is the god's illusive power, or Māyá, that is addressed, rather than the god himself.

† Thus the Vaishnavas, when they perform a Sráddh, do not repeat the names of their own ancestors, but substitute the names of Krishna, Pradyumna, and Aniruddh.

‡ The number 'four' seems to be an allusion to the four stages of life: childhood, youth, manhood, and old age.

§ The word *beháryau* is doubtful and probably corrupt though given in all three MSS.

A Reply to several passages in Mr. Blochmann's "Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal," No. III.—By the Translator of the Ṭabakát-i-Násirí, Major H. G. RAVERTY, Bombay Army, (Retired).

It is rarely necessary for either an author or translator to have to defend his work before it is complete, but I find I have to do this in the case of my translation of the Ṭabakát-i-Násirí; and, although I have devoted more than four years to the task of collation of MSS. and to that translation, it is likely, to judge from appearances, to turn out a very thankless one after all.

It was my duty, as a translator, to show that the Calcutta Printed Text is exceedingly incorrect and imperfect. Mr. Blochmann, in note ‡, page 212 of his "*Contributions to the History of Bengal*," Part I., J. A. S. B., 1873, said "the printed text is untrustworthy."

What I refer to more particularly, are certain strictures contained in IIIId portion of those same "*Contributions*", which I have just received; and, in justice to my translation and to myself, I will reply to them as briefly as possible; but, at the same time, I would remark that criticisms on the MSS. on which I have been working, might have been deferred, at least, until the translation was complete.

The first objection on the part of Mr. Blochmann is [page 275 of his "*Contributions*" No. III. in J. A. S. B., for 1875] my spelling of the word خَلَج. I have written Khalj as it is explained and spelt according to the vowel points belonging to it. I also say [in note 3, page 548 of my Translation] that it is written rarely Khalaj [in poetry, for the sake of rhyme]; but to imagine that I could be led, in a matter of sober history, by the "common Indian pronunciation of the adjective," how to pronounce a Turkish word is preposterous: I might as well turn the Khalj Turks into "Ghiljī Patháns" as some have done. My note to the page in question seems to be unpalatable. I have never said that the *yá-i-nisbat* could not be added, and have written it with it in several places, when my author used it—as for example—Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yár, the Khalj, and Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yár, Khaljí. I also wrote on simple *prose*: I did not refer to "rhyme" or poetic license; but I apprehend that Khallají is required to rhyme with "multají" rather than Mr. Blochmann's "*Khalají*."

With regard to the authorities for Malik Kṭb-ud-Dín's establishing himself at Dihlí, I am told, "Mr. E. Thomas fixes it at 587 H. as consistent with the best authorities." But who are these best authorities? Two

pages farther on, Mr. Blochmann states that "the Ṭabaqát is the only authority we possess for this period."

Now I will give an example of Mr. Thomas' "best authorities." At page 11 of his "PATHÁN KINGS OF DEHLI," he says: "In 587, in a more extended expedition into Hindustán, Muhammad Ghori was totally routed on the memorable field of Thaneswar * * * *After a year's repose* * * * on the self-same battle ground, he again encountered his former adversary * * * This time fortune favoured the Ghories * * * By this single victory the Muhammadans may be said to have become the virtual masters of Hindústán," &c., &c.

I will take it for granted that *a year after 587* means 588 H., and that Mr. Blochmann will also allow it.

But now turn to the foot-note at page 23 of the same work. There Mr. Thomas, forgetting, apparently, what he wrote a few pages before, says:—"As regards the historical evidence to the date 587 A. H. for the capture of Dehli by the Muslims, it is complete and consistent with the best authorities!"

Mr. Thomas adds "and Minháj-us-Siráj repeats in various forms, while treating of the life of Aibeg, the confirmation of the same date." In this I cannot agree with him. Let us turn to page 179 of the Calcutta Printed Text, the foot-note, and also to my Translation, page 515, in both of which it says [leaving out the first defeat by the Hindús, but again referring to Kuṭb-ud-Dín's being taken captive], he "took possession of that place—Míraṭh—in 587 H. [see note 5, page 515 of my version]. From Míraṭh likewise he issued forth in the year 588 H., and captured Dihlí."

These are the actual words in the different MSS. collated. It is not actually said that Dihlí was taken in 588 H., merely that Kuṭb-ud-Dín, in 588 H., marched from Míraṭh, and it must have been towards the close of that year, as will be shown farther on, according to the Tájj-ul-Ma'ásir he had to start to relieve Hánsí in the ninth month of that year, and only took Míraṭh after that. It is evident, therefore, that Minháj-ud-Dín did not intend it to be understood that Dihlí was taken and made the seat of government in 588 H., unless he stultifies himself by upsetting his previous statements at pages 248, 378, 456, 457, and 464 of my Translation, which can be compared with the same places in the original MSS.

I will now leave the "best authorities" and go to facts, first mentioning, however, that, in note 9, page 469 of my Translation, I have quoted several other authors for my dates, which note Mr. Blochmann probably has not read, and, further, that they also "must have had very good MSS. of the Ṭabaqát-i-Nāqirí, some of which in all probability were older" than the Calcutta Printed Text.

Minháj-ud-Dín states [pages 456—477] that troubles arose in Khwá-

razm in consequence of the outbreak of Sultán Sháh, the Khwárazmí, in 587 H.; that, subsequently [but in the *same* year], Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, advanced into India, took Tabarhindah; left a garrison there with orders to hold out for *six months*, and was preparing to retire [in consequence of the hot season, it being the third or fourth month, at latest, of 587 H.—April or May, 1191, A. D.]; was defeated by Ráe Pithorá; and had to retire, leaving the garrison still there. In the cold season of that year—five or six months after—instead of being able to return as he intended, he was under the necessity of preparing to attend his brother, Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, along with other dependent Princes and their troops, against Sultán Sháh, the Khwárazmí Prince, who threatened Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muḥammad's dominions in Khurásán. Besides, Mu'izz-ud-Dín had been badly wounded in the first battle, and it must have taken him some time to recover. This campaign, Minháj-ud-Dín states, at pages 248 and 378, took place in 588 H., and occupied *six months*. Kuṭb-ud-Dín accompanied his master, and was taken captive by the Khwárazmís, but, after a battle, and defeat of the enemy, he was re-captured. "This victory," says Minháj-ud-Dín, "was achieved in the year 588 H."

I also take it for granted that Mr. Blochmann will allow that this capture of Kuṭb-ud-Dín must have taken place *before he captured* Dihlí. But what will totally overturn the theories on this matter, unless people *will not* be convicted, is the fact that Minháj-ud-Dín's relative, Kází, Muḥammad, the Túlakí [Mr. Dowson's "Kází Túlak"], was left with a body of troops to hold Tabarhindah for the space of *six months* [that is to the next cold season—the ninth or tenth month of 587 H.—September or October, 1191 A. D.]. Why did he do this it may be asked? and the answer is plain enough: he could not remain in India any longer with safety. The hot season was close at hand, and he would have been unable to return if he stayed much longer, for, besides the heat, the six mighty rivers, in his rear would have *all been unfordable*, and would have to be crossed by boats, even if boats were procurable, a dangerous matter with regard to most of those rivers at that season, witness the strong Railway Bridges washed away in these days. The Sultán, having been defeated immediately after he placed the Kází in Tabarhindah, and having subsequently to accompany his brother towards Marw, where they were occupied *six months*, could not return as he intended, and the Kází having held out *over thirteen months* [see Translation, page 464], the Sultán still not having come, had to give it up to the Hindús.

Now if we calculate, say, fourteen or fifteen months from the first defeat, for the Sultán's return [*i. e.* from the setting in of the hot season—the *ninth* month of 587 H.] we shall come to the *last month* of 588 H.; and, in the same way, if we calculate six months of 588 H. for the opera-

tions in Khurásán, we must allow some little time for the Sultán to reach Ghaznín, and he would then even require a month or two to prepare for a campaign in India; and besides, *even if he were ready before*, he could not move towards India during the height of the *hot season*. There were the same six mighty rivers to be crossed, and all unfordable at that period; and all these things being thought of, it was utterly impossible for Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, to have entered India, at the earliest, before the middle of September or October—the end of the ninth or tenth month of 588 H., previous to which period no man in his senses, would have attempted to march from Ghaznín, to cross the six rivers, and advance into India.

Then followed the battle with Ráe Pithorá, Kuṭb-ud-Dín is left in charge at Kuhrám, and the Sultán prepared to return home again.

These being the facts, how is it possible, on Mr. Thomas's "best authorities," that Kuṭb-ud-Dín could have occupied Dihlí in 587 H.?

I am glad also to find that General Cunningham, on his visit to Dihlí in 1862, considered that 589 H. and not 587 H. was the correct date on the *Minárah*—not of "Quṭbuddín Aibeg," about which so many reams of paper have been written, but of a wholly different Kuṭb, respecting whom see note 6, page 621, to my Translation. I refer to the date on this *Minárah* about which "doctors disagree," and with regard to which Mr. Thomas would fix on 587 H. for the occupation of Dihlí, and so all other dates must be made to suit it. I suppose, however, that all the "best authorities" never considered *how it could be possible* for Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín to be defeated by Ráe Pithorá just before the hot season of 587 H., to take "*a year's repose*" [Thomas], again enter India, be occupied some time even then against Ráe Pithorá before finally overthrowing him [according to the *Táj-ul-Ma'áṣir* also], leave Kuṭb-ud-Dín at Míraṭh, retire again from India, for Kuṭb-ud-Dín, subsequent to all this, to occupy Dihlí, build a great Mosque, upon which [notwithstanding the address of the President of the Archæological Section at the Oriental Congress of 1874] Musalmán artizans brought from different parts of Asia were employed, and all these events *to have happened* in the *one year* of 587 H. ! The idea is simply preposterous.

It occurs to me, on considering this subject further, that the inscription on the fourth circle of the lower storey of the *Minárah* as given in Thomas [Pathan Kings, pages 21-22] refers not to Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, son of Sám, if the *name* given is correct, but to his elder brother. It will be found at pages 368 and 370 of my Translation, and in the corresponding places in the original, that the elder brother and suzerain of Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, son of Sám, was first called Muḥammad and his title was Shams-ud-Dín, and that the younger brother *was also called Muḥammad* and his title was Shiháb-ud-Dín. The first brother after he

came to the throne, assumed the title of “Ghiyās-ud-Dunyá wa ud-Dín, Muḥammad, son of [Bahá-ud-Dín] Sám, Kaṣím-i-Amír-ul-Múminín,” and that after the successes in Khurásán, in 588 H., the younger brother, Muḥammad, who, up to that time, bore the title of Shiháb-ud-Dín, *received the title of* Mu’izz-ud-Dín, so, when defeated by Ráe Pithorá, he bore the title of Shiháb-ud-Dín, but after, on his return the second time, Mu’izz-ud-Dín. This may account for the subsequent Indian Muḥammadan writers calling him Shiháb and Mu’izz indiscriminately.

At the period in question, when these inscriptions *are said* to have been recorded [I fancy they were recorded subsequently. See note 6, page 621, of my Translation], the elder brother and *suzerain* was still living, and lived for *ten years after*; and, I imagine, it will be allowed, that the two sovereigns, and both the brothers, *at the same identical time*, could not bear the title of Kaṣím-i-Amír-ul-Múminín, or Ghiyās-ud-Dín, and, therefore, leaving out the additional titles, the work of the artist probably, the title in the said inscription is,—“SULTÁN-US-SALÁṬÍN, GHIYÁS-UD-DUNYÁ WA UD-DÍN, MUḤAMMAD, BIN SÁM, KAṢÍM-I-AMÍR-UL-MÚMINÍN,” and throughout the inscription [given by Thomas] the name of *Mu’izz-ud-Dín*, or *Shiháb-ud-Dín* even, *never once occurs*.

The Táǵ-ul-Ma’áṣir is quoted as an authority, and a sufficient authority, to upset the statements of Minháj-ud-Dín, whose father, Saráj-ud-Dín, was Kází of Sultán Mu’izz-ud-Dín’s army, and whose kinsman, the Kází of Túlak, was present on the spot; but I do not place trust in the statements contained in that inflated work, unless they are corroborated or confirmed by some other contemporary writer.

In ELLIOT [page 211, vol. ii.] it is stated that the Táǵ-ul-Ma’áṣir is *rare* in Europe. I have had *four* copies to compare with the extracts from it given in that work, and I find that the date mentioned there—587 H.—for the victory Sultán’s [it totally ignores his *defeat*] over Ráe Pithorá, is written سنة سبع [which may be either سبع or تسع] without any points in two copies of the four MSS., in the third with one dot over and one under, and in the fourth تسع. It is, therefore, evident that that date may be either 7 or 9, just as one chooses to read it; but, as the first battle, *according to every other author who has written on the subject*, took place in 587 H., the same year, 587 H., cannot, for reasons already stated, be the same in which the Sultán defeated Ráe Pithorá, and the former’s slave occupied Dihlí. See note 6, page 521, para. 3 of my Translation.

If the “best authorities” had looked at the Táǵ-ul-Ma’áṣir attentively however [see also ELLIOT, vol. ii., page 217], they would have found that, even according to that work, in Ramazán, the *ninth month* of 588 H.—the middle of October [1192 A. D.]—Kuṭb-ud-Dín had to march from Kuhrám to relieve Hānsí [see also note 2 to page 516 of my Translation], and that,

subsequently, "When" [according to ELLIOT, page 219], "the chief luminary threw its shade in the sign of Libra, and temperate breezes began to blow, after putting to flight the army of heat, Kutbu-d-Dín marched from Kahram and took Mirath," and *subsequent to that* "he then encamped under the fort of *Delhi, which was also captured.*" This means 587 H. I suppose ?

If Mr. Blochmann will look at "that excellent work" the Haft-Iklím, he may see therein stated, that the defeat of Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, took place in 587 H., his victory in 588 H., and that Dihlí was occupied, as the seat of government, in 589 H.

The Ṭabakát-i-Akbarí, the author of which "*must have had good MSS. older than*" mine, also says, "defeated 587 H., victorious 588 H., Dihlí occupied and made the seat of government by Kuṭb-ud-Dín, in 589 H."

The Tazkarat-ul-Mulúk also says, first battle and defeat of Mu'izz-ud-Dín, 587 H., his victory 588 H., Dihlí *taken* 589 H., and, next year, 590 H., Mu'izz-ud-Dín came again on an expedition to Kinnauj.

The Tárikh-i-Alfí says that the Sultán gained the victory over Ráe Pithorá in the year 578 of the *riḥlat* = 588 H.

The Zubdat-ut-Tawárikh also says that Dihlí was made the seat of government in 589 H., and that, in the following year, 590 H., the Sultán returned on the expedition against Kinnauj.

The Muntakhab-ut-Tawárikh likewise says that Dihlí was made the seat of government in 589 H.

Búda'úní and Firishtah also will be found to agree with the Ṭabakát-i-Akbarí; and, to crown the whole, and put the finishing touch to the picture, Mr. Blochmann's own *Aín* says that the first battle and defeat of the Sultán took place in 587 H., the second and victory in 588 H., and that in *the same year* his slave *took* Dihlí, but nothing is said of his making it the seat of government; and this agrees with the Táj-ul-Ma'áṣir, where nothing is said of making Dihlí the *capital in that year*; but that, "from Dihlí," after staying some time there, "he marched forth against Kol, in 590 H."

I need not say more on this head I think, and do not doubt but that Mr. Thomas is open to conviction.

The next matter is the conquest of Bihár by Muḥammad, *bin Bakht-yár*, the Khalj, which Mr. Thomas fixes at 599 H. on the authority, Mr. Blochmann "believes" of the Táj-ul-Ma'áṣir [ELLIOT's version probably], which states that Kuṭb-ud-Dín took Kálinjar in that year; but the MSS. of the Táj-ul-Ma'áṣir examined by me, unfortunately, have that same stubborn سنه سنه و سنه سنه which, from the want of diacritical points, may be 577, 579, 597, or 599, just as the reader chooses to render the words.

At page 523 of my Translation [note, para. 2] I have noticed that "it is astonishing that the Musalmáns remained quiet for *six years*," assuming that 599 H. was the correct year in which Kálinjar was taken, which, I add, "was the same year in which Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín died," but, from the examination of these four MSS. of the Táj-ul-Ma'ásir again, I am in doubt whether 597 H. is not the most correct *according to that work*. Minháj-ud-Dín says the Sultán died in 599 H., but, as I have noticed in note 4, page 383, some authors give 597 H., and some 598 H. as the date of his death.

Those who suppose that Bengal was "conquered" [the surprise and capture of Núdíah I refer to] in 599 H., do not consider how Muḥammad, *bin* Bakht-yár, could have "reigned," as he is said to have done, "*twelve years*," seeing that he was assassinated in 602 H.

I am told that I am mistaken, according to my own authorities, in connexion with the very doubtful date in the Táj-ul-Ma'ásir above referred to. Mr. Blochmann says, page 276, Part III. of his "*Contributions*":—

"(1) That Muhammad Bakhtyár appeared before Quṭbuddín in *Dihlí*, and was rejected by reason of his humble condition.

"According to Major Raverty, Dihlí was occupied in 589 H.*; hence Muhammad Bakhtyár must have been rejected in or after 589 H.

"(2) After his rejection, Muhammad Bakhtyár goes to Badáon, where Hizabr gives him a fixed salary.

"(3) *After some time* Muhammad Bakhtyár goes to Audh, where he obtains certain fiefs near the Bihár frontier. He now undertakes plundering expeditions, which continue, according to the printed text, *for one or two years*.

In a foot-note is added, "Major Raverty has left this out."

"(4) He invades Southern Bihár† and takes the town of Bihár. He then goes to Dihlí, where he remains for some time at Quṭb's court.

"(5) *The second year after his conquest of Bihár*, he sets out for Bengal, and takes Nadiyá.

"Now how is it possible, with these five chronological particulars, that "Muhammad Bakhtyár could have left Bihár, as Major Raverty says, in 589 H. to invade Lakhnautí, if Quṭb occupied Dihlí in 589?" [A foot-note has, Major Raverty says that Muhammad Bakhtyár presented himself to *the Sultán* at *Láhor*, but the text has Dihlí (page 549).] "It would, indeed, "be a close computation if we allowed but five years for the above events, "*i. e.* if we fixed the conquest of Bengal as having taken place in 594 H., "or A. D. 1198."

* Early in 589 H.

† It should have been stated above that his fiefs were close to the frontier of South Bihár, as in my translation.

To this my reply is that the text (page 549), says *not one word* about "Muhammad Bakht-yár" presenting himself before "*the Sultán* at Láhor" ["*the Sultán*" in this instance was a *slave*, continued a slave during his master's lifetime, and did not obtain his freedom and the title of Sultán until 605 H.—only about fifteen years after this time! See page 389 of Translation, and corresponding place in the original]. The words in my Translation are, that "Muhammad-i-Bakht-yár presented himself *before the Muster-Master at Dihlí*," and so, the probability is, that Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dín was at Láhor, as I have stated in note 6, page 550, *on the authority of another writer*, and Muhammad, bin Bakht-yár, straightway went to Husám-ud-Dín, Ughul-Bak.

If looked at in a different light, although the time seems very short, it is not so utterly impossible for Muhammad, bin Bakht-yár, to have waited on Kuṭb-ud-Dín at Láhor, or gone to Ughul-Bak, as the case may be, proceeded to Awadh, have been sent to Bhíulí and Bhagwat, have taken Bihár which only required a party of 200 horsemen (in fact, it may be said Muhammad, bin Bakht-yár, took it alone) and might have occupied him a couple of weeks, or even say a month from his fiefs, a distance of under 200 miles as the crow flies, have gone to Dihlí to Kuṭb-ud-Dín in 589 H. or to Mahobah, as the case may be, and have invaded Bengal the following year, for *the second year after* means the following year—I quote my authors as I find them. That in the *following year after 589 H.*, he took Núdíah, agrees with the statement of Shiam Parshád, whose work Mr. Blochmann, of course, has referred to; but he appears not to have noticed the statement of Minháj-ud-Dín at page 556 of my Translation [page 150 of the printed text], that when Muhammad, bin Bakht-yár, returned from the presence of Kuṭb-ud-Dín, *he* subdued Bihár, thus contradicting his previous statement.

The only thing I can blame myself for in this matter is, that I did not mention in a note, that the printed text, which at one time is so utterly untrustworthy, and then so trustworthy, contained the words "*matters went on in this way for ONE or TWO years*" after the words "and ravaged that territory," at page 551 of my Translation. The reason why I did not do so is, that, in all probability, I did not look at the printed text here, or that it escaped my attention, otherwise I certainly should have done so: I think I have noticed the printed text pretty often, when *right* as well as when *wrong*. I had no object not to do so: I had built up no theory or made statements anywhere else that I wished to support. I might also have added that the two MSS. on which that printed text is based, two of the three worst of those collated, contain the same words, and that all the other collated MSS. *had no such words*.

I would, however, remark here that I did not profess to translate the Calcutta Printed Text, but to translate the work from MSS., and as advertised on the covers of the Society's publications.

Why the expression "some years before 601 H." can make it clear ["Contributions," page 277] that Núdíah "must have been taken about 594 H. or 595 H., i. e. in A. D. 1198 or 1199," any more than about 591, 2, 3 or even 596 or 7, I am at a loss to understand. But one thing, at least, is very clear, that the year 599 H. for the conquest of Bengal, even "as consistent with the best authorities," is utterly impossible.

Another theory is then raised. Although it is clear to Mr. Blochmann that Núdíah "must have been taken in 594 or 595 H.," the statement contained in the Táǵ-ul-Ma'áṣir [*Īrishtah*, who merely copies from his immediate predecessors, more particularly, is a *very* trustworthy authority to quote!] that Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yár waited on Kuṭb-ud-Dín at Mahobah in 599 H.—a doubtful date in that work, as before stated, which may be 597 H. and *four or five years after* Mr. Blochmann says Bengal was conquered—"involves no contradiction as far as chronology is concerned." No, not in the least, even though Minháj-ud-Dín states, that Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yár waited on Kuṭb-ud-Dín *before* he surprised Núdíah. With that city Bengal—or rather Lakhanawati—fell. There is no mention of any fighting after; and so, if it is correct, according to the Táǵ-ul-Ma'áṣir, that Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yár only waited on Kuṭb-ud-Dín at Mahobah, in 599 H., not *from* AWADH and BIHAR as incorrectly rendered in ELLIOTT's version, [page 232, vol. ii.], but from ^{دَوْنِ}بَہار—the points are thus given—according to the text of the Táǵ-ul-Ma'áṣir, I now have before me, that city could only have been taken after that time—599 H. See also footnote page 276 of the "Contributions," in which it is contended that ^{دَوْنِ}دَوْنِ—as Minháj-ud-Dín writes it—cannot be correct because the Calcutta Text has ^{دَوْنِ}دَوْنِ. The author of the Ṭabakát-i-Akbari, like some others, takes Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yár, from the presence of Mu'izz-ud-Dín *direct* to Ḥusám-ud-Dín, Ughal-Bak, and says, that Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yár, when subsequently he came to Kuṭb's presence, "was deputed to conquer Lakhanawati."

The Tazkarat-ul-Mulúk also takes Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yár *direct* from Ghaznín to Ughal-Bak, and states that he took Bihár before he went to Kuṭb-ud-Dín].

"The time fixed upon by Mr. Thomas for the conquest of Bengal is 599 H., that is, *four or five years after* the time assumed by Mr. Blochmann, while I have stated, according to my author, the year following 589 H., that is 590 H.—but *three or four years before* Mr. Blochmann's chosen time. Mr. Thomas is only "a little too late:" mine is "impossible as being too early." Probably Mr. Blochmann has not noticed that at page

340 of the *Ro. As. J.*, vol. vi. for 1873, Mr. Thomas has again *changed in his ideas*, and says “*the first occupation of Bengal by Muhammad Bakht-yár Khiljī*” was “in 600 A. H.”

I now come to another chief point in this discussion.

Mr. Blochmann “thought” the name of “Qutbuddin of the Paralyzed Hand,” [see BRIGGS’ translation of Firishtah, noticed in note at page 519 and 521 of my Translation, which makes a very energetic warrior of him, considering his “Paralyzed Hand”], had been “set at rest” by Mr. Thomas—but in this I cannot agree any more than in the date 599 and 600 H. for the conquest of Bengal—and says that my different MSS. “have clearly the same words as the Bibl. Indica Edition of the *Ṭabaqát*”: my MSS. run thus:—

بظاہر جمالی نداشت و انکشت خنصر او شکستکی داشت

but, in the Calcutta Text, after the word او, the words از دست—“of a” or “the hand”—occur, and the Hamilton MS., the worst of the whole number collated, has the same, but *the other two MSS. from which the Printed Text is taken have not those words*, and another MS. has از پا—“of a” or “the foot”—but all the rest of the MSS. are as I have given it above, and translated it.

I fail to see much difference in Mr. Blochmann’s “literal translation:”—“*Outwardly* he had no comeliness, and *his* little FINGER [of one hand] possessed an infirmity. For this reason they called him *Aibak-i-shall* [Aibak with the paralyzed HAND]” and my:—“He possessed no outward comeliness, and the little *finger* [of one hand?] *had a fracture*, and on that account he used to be styled I-bak-i-Shil [the powerless-fingered].” The only difference is that where I translate داشت *had*, Mr. Blochmann translates it *possessed*—a mighty difference truly—and that I translate the word گفتندی—*guftandī* which is the *imperfect* tense of the verb, used also to imply continuity or *habitude*, and is *not the PAST tense*, and that I give to شکستکی the meaning of a concrete noun. I see no reason to alter my translation, as lexicographers, who are supposed to know something of the meanings of words, render شکستکی *a rupture, a fracture, defeat*, as well as *breaking, brokenness, &c.*

Mr. Blochmann calls the *Haft-Iqlīm* “an excellent work,” and in this I quite agree with him. Let him look at it, however, and he will find with respect to Kutb-ud-Dīn, I-bak-i-Shil, that, in it, are the following words—از این که انکشت خنصر او شکسته برد او را ایبک میگویند—which I defy any one to translate otherwise than—from, or on this, that his little FINGER WAS BROKEN they used to call him I-bak.” Which hand is not stated.

The author of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarī*, Budá’úní, and even Firishtah, all of whom Mr. Blochmann states [*“Contributions,”* page 280], MUST HAVE

HAD *very good MSS. of the Tabaqát-i-Náçiri*, all have THE VERY SAME WORDS, copying one from the other, as are contained in the Haft-Iqlím, the Tazkarat-ul-Mulúk has the same, and also the Muntakhab-ut-Tawárikh. Some others say the same, but I need not name them here, as those I have mentioned are easily obtained for reference, but all leave out the شل without which ايبك—finger, is meaningless. Mr. Blochmann quotes the *Shams-ul-Lughat*: let him look at it for the word ايبك and he will see these words—انكشت بكسر بمعني انكشت—“*I-bak with kasr means FINGER*,” as well as the *other* meanings mentioned in the “*Contributions*.”

The Táríkh-i-Majāmi'-ul-Khiyár—not the work even of a resident in India—has چون انكشت خنصر او شكسته بود اورا ايبك شل گفتند “As his little finger *was broken*, they called him *I-bak-i-Shil*.” The Zubdat-ut-Tawárikh, which copies Minháj-ud-Dín, has the same words as given in my Translation; and it is satisfactory to know that those authors who say his little finger *was broken*, read the word شكستكي as I have read it. Of course, neither Minháj-ud-Dín, nor any other who writes *I-bak-i-Shil* which even, on Mr. Blochmann's own showing, is in the Calcutta Printed Text as in other copies, is right in putting شل whether it be *shil* or *shall* LAST, and it ought, according to Mr. Blochmann, to be *inverted* into “*Shil-Aibak*,” otherwise it is “*un-Persian*.” None of these authors who write *I-bak-i-Shil* therefore, according to this theory, could have known their own language! He also, in his literal translation, renders the passage “and his little *finger* [of one hand] possessed an infirmity,” and yet he turns him into “*Aibak with the paralyzed HAND*.” Because one finger was broken, or “possessed an infirmity,” it does not follow that the whole hand was paralyzed. Mr. Blochmann could not have thought of these matters when he proceeded to criticise the correctness of my Translation.

I have never said that *I-bak* alone meant *I-bak of the broken finger*, but, with *shil* added to it—*I-bak-i-Shil*—as I have already stated in note 1, page 513-14 of my Translation, and I have also stated that, in *Turkish*, *I-bak* “means finger” only: *not* broken or fractured-fingered, or the like. Mr. Blochmann could not have read the notes through, or failed to see what I said of *I-bak-i-Lang* in the same note. Nor have I said that *I-bak* was not Turkish, for he was a *Turk*, and so bore a Turkish name.

Neither have I ever hinted, much less stated, that his *real name* was *Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín*: to have said so would have been absurd. That is his Musalmán titular name only, as Shams-ud-Dín was the Musalmán name title of his slave, I-yal-timish. In my note 1, page 513, I have said that *Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín* could *not have been his real name*, nor *I-bak* either, which I looked upon as a nick-name or by-name. So Mr. Blochmann here, unknown to himself probably, has come to the same conclusion. I should not write his name however under any circumstance “*Ḳuṭbuddín*,” any more than I

should translate it *The polestar of the faith*, but Kuṭb-ud-Dín—The Polestar of [the] Faith.

There is not the least cause for "the *izáfat*" to be cancelled in I-bak-i-Shil: to do so would be contrary to the primary and simplest rules of the Persian Grammar—the Irání I mean—of the "Túrání" dialect I know nothing. In Shil I-bak an adjective precedes the noun, and the اضافت—*izáfat*—does not take place; but, when the adjective or qualifying word follows the noun, the *kasrah* of *izáfat* is required. See the "Áin," page 629 for an example, where Mr. Blochmann himself writes "A'ZAM KHÁN, vide KHÁN-I-A'ZAM." Any Persian Grammar, however simple, will show this, as well as Lumsden, or Sir W. Jones, Forbes, &c. The following is given as an example, and is very pertinent to the subject:—

"The last letter of every Persian word is quiescent, or un-accented—i. e. اسب *asp*, a horse; دست *dast*, a hand; مرد *mard*, a man. But, in composition, when such word is either the مضاف—*muzáf*, or governing noun, or the موصوف *maušúf*, or substantive noun, the last letter must be accented with the *kasrah* of *izáfat*: as for example—اسبِ جلد *asp-i-jald*—a swift horse; دستِ زيد *dast-i-Zaid*—the hand of Zaid; مردِ نيك *mard-i-nek*—a good man; راهِ راست *ráh-i-rást*—a true or right way, the *kasrah* being the sign of the governing noun, or the antecedent of the relative adjective."

Again: "When the adjective follows the substantive, the latter must be accented with the *kasrah*; as اسپِ سیاه *asp-i-siáh*—a black horse, but, on the contrary, when the adjective precedes the noun, the *kasrah* must not be used, as سیاهِ اسپ *siáh asp*—a black horse. The same rule is likewise applicable to the governing and the governed nouns substantive; as زمینِ بادشاهان *bádsháhán-i-zamín*—kings of the earth; شاهِ جهان *sháh-i-jahán*—king of the world; جهانِ شاه *jahán-sháh*—world king," &c.

When I learned these simple rules just *thirty years since*, I did not expect I should have to quote them again. Shil I-bak therefore and I-bak-i-Shil, and I-bak-i-Lang, as he is styled in the Jámi'-ut-Tawárikh, and in Fanákati, come under these rules, but no writer who pretended to elegance of style would prefer the former to the latter. I am quite content to leave this to any Persian scholar—Persian or European. In میرِ ماه *mír mah* which Mr. Blochmann himself translates [page 136] "*Lord of the Moon*," why is he so *un-Persian*, and why does he not "cancel the *izáfat*," and write Moon Lord? and without an *artificial izáfat* whence comes "*of the*?"

I do not know that any one has said that Mr. Thomas is *not* quite correct in looking upon ايبك *aybak* as "the original name." I, certainly, have not said so. I only write I-bak what Mr. Thomas writes *Aibeg* and Mr. Bloch-

mann *Aibak*, but I think Mr. Blochmann would have some difficulty in showing me the word written with a *madd*, viz. ايبك. He certainly cannot show it to me in any copy of the *Ṭabakāt-i-Nāṣirī*. I never saw it so written.

As to what is given as the legend on coins he is said to have issued, and his being merely called *Y-bak* therein, which Mr. Blochmann deems quite sufficient to refute me by my own remarks, it is evident that, before Mr. Blochmann had calmly read my statements, he penned this portion of his "*Contributions*." I read in the legend given at page 525 of my Translation the words—Sultān Kutb-ud-Dīn, *Y-bak*, as plain as it is possible to print. He would scarcely have put *shil* or *shall* upon his coins. Did Tīmūr add the word *Lang* to the legend on his? Of course not: but I will not give the legend here. See the ADDITIONAL NOTE to my Translation, on the subject of the legends on these coins: end of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, page 717.

I do not consider that Mr. Thomas or any one else has "set this question at rest" with respect to "*Aibeg*;" and had Mr. Blochmann not been quite so hasty he might have read a note in my Translation, a little farther on, where I have remarked upon the number of other Maliks styled ايبك—some five or six or more, including Ulugh-Khān's brother. I have endeavoured to get a real Turkish scholar to give me his ideas upon several Turkish titles in the *Ṭabakāt-i-Nāṣirī*, and perhaps, before this is sent off, I may receive his reply.

As to there being no such word as *shil* in Persian meaning limp, weak, soft, paralyzed, &c. [*"Contributions,"* page 278] I do not agree with Mr. Blochmann. It is not *Túrání*, and may be *Írání*, or possibly local, and peculiar to the Fārsíwāns of Afghánistán, but is commonly used; and another Persian word—*shul*—is used with it in the sense mentioned. As to Mr. Blochmann's "*rare* Arabic word *shal* or *shall* [which "*rare*" word I have also referred to in my note, page 513], he says it means "having a withered hand," but I say it means a *hand* or *foot* paralyzed or powerless, &c., on the authority of an excellent Lexicon in Persian, which explains it thus:—

و بعربي دست و پاي را گويند كه از كار باز مانده باشد

I think I may venture to assert that Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Sām, was rather unlikely to have purchased a slave with the whole of one *hand* paralyzed: a finger broken or paralyzed would have been no very great detriment, but how could a one-hand paralyzed man fight on horseback? See too the wonderful feats Dow and BRIGGS—not Firishtah—make him perform. As to its being "*a rare* Arabic word" I beg to say that it is a *most common* one among the Afghāns: in fact, they rarely ever use another word, except by adding شل *shull* to it—"shall-o-shull." See my Pushto Dictionary, page 656.

In the following page [279] of his "*Contributions*" Mr. Blochmann, referring to my mentioning in a note to my Translation, that Arám Sháh, said to be the son of Y-bak, and, by some, the adopted son, is called Y-bak's brother by Abú-l-Fazl, says he takes "the opportunity to justify Abul-Fazl, and that, in his [own] *Aín* text, Abul-Fazl states twice distinctly that Arám Sháh was Aibak's son." Mr. Blochmann's *Aín* may, but in my *Aín*—the MS. I quoted, and which is now before me—a "good old copy"—has these words, in which *may* be a clerical error:—

در چوگان بازی نقد زندگانی در باخت امرا آرام شاه برادر او را برمسند فرماندهی
نشانده

At page 279 of his "*Contributions*" Mr. Blochmann considers the word *آی* *ái* "a moon" in the word *ایبک* to occur in other names of Indian History, and in what he calls "*Ai-tigín*" or *E'tigín* [he is not certain which perhaps: *آی* can be written *E*, in *Túrání* probably], and in "*Ai-lititnish*, the emperor Altamsh," but unfortunately *آی* with *madd* over the *l* does not occur in either of those names, nor will Mr. Blochmann show them to me so written even in the Bibl. Indica edition of the "*Tabaqát*."

If "*Ai-lititnish*" be the name of the so-called "emperor" [but why not write also the "emperor" Maḥmúd, son of Sabuk-Tigín, the "emperor" Mu'izz-ud-Dín, and the "emperor" Kuṭb-ud-Dín? They were Sultáns by title as well as "*Ai-lititnish*" was], and if "*Ai-lititnish*" be right, why style him "Altamsh" still? Such must be "behind modern research." If *آی* be contained in the words *ایلتیش* and *ایتکین*—there are no *madds* here—and is entirely separate from the *نکین* and *لنیش* of those words, how does Mr. Blochmann account for the words *قلمش* *Kal-tinish*, *تقمیش* *Tak-timish*, and *سلتمش*—*Sal-timish*? These are names often occurring as well as *ایلتیش**—*I-yal-timish*, elsewhere than in Indian history, because they are Turk names, but the last part of these compound words is *تمش* sometimes written *تمیش* and *تمیش* and the first part *قل*—*نق*—*سل*—*یل* respectively, and not *آی* at all. After this same fragile theory, *I-yal-Arsalán*—*ایل ارسلان*, *I-yal-ká*—*ایلکا*, and *I-yal-dúz*—*ایلدوز* which latter the author of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náshiri* and some others write *یلدوز* *Yal-dúz* [where is the "*آی* *ái* 'a moon' " here? *ایلدوز* is said to mean *a star* in Turkish], those names must be written *Ai-liarsalán*, *Ai-liká*, and *Ai-lildúz*. I should like to know the titles of these "oldest Dictionaries" which give the pronunciation "*Ai-lititnish*." No, no, the "*آی* *ái* 'a moon' " in these last names is all *moonshine*.

Again Mr. Blochmann makes everything succumb to "metrical passages" and poetry while I treat of prose.

I have included the name of *ایلتیش**—*I-yal-timish*, as one of my

* Major Raverty's original contains *sukúns* above the *lám*, *mím*, and *shún*. Ed.

three oldest MSS. of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Násirí* writes it *with the points*, among the Turkish titles or by-names referred to a Turkish scholar.

In the order of Mr. Blochmann's strictures I come now to "dangerous innovations" in spelling names, but, for convenience, I will notice them last, and proceed to another most important point. He says, page 279 :—

"The only thing we knew hitherto (and I believe it is all we know now) is that the conqueror of Bengal was called

Muhammad Bakhtyár,

and the name of his paternal uncle was

Muhammad Mahmúd.*

"The names of these two persons Major Raverty breaks up, by introducing an artificial *izáfat*, or sign of the genitive" [see *ante* on the use of the *izáfat* and the كسرٌ توصيفي and any Grammar on the subject], "into four names, *viz.* Muhammad-i-Bakhtyár, and Muhammad-i-Mahmúd * *

"Major Raverty says in explanation that "in his older MSS." the word *bin*, or son, is inserted between the words Muhammad and Bakhtyár in the heading of Chapter V., which contains the biography of the conqueror of Bengal; hence the conqueror of Bengal was Muhammad, and "the father's name, it appears, was Bakhtyár, the son of Mahmúd." It is not stated in how many MSS. this *bin* occurs; but, though it occur in the heading, it never occurs in the text.

"The name of Muhammad Bakhtyár occurs more than thirty times in Major Raverty's Chapters V. and VI. (pages 548 to 576); but in every case Major Raverty gives Muhammad-i-Bakhtyár, *i. e.* the *Izáfat*. Hence his MSS. have no *bin* in the text. In the heading of Chapter VI., there is no *bin*, though Major Raverty puts it in; he tries even to do so in the heading to Chapter VIII., in the name of Husámuddín 'Iwaz, and "one or two authors" get the credit of it."

My answer is, I "put" nothing "in": "nor does the word *bin* occur in the MSS. of the *Táj-ul-Ma'ásir*, in *Firishtah*, the *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí*, "Badáoní, and later writers, though the authors of these histories must have "had very good MSS. of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Násirí*, some of which in all probability were older than those in Major Raverty's possession. Hence I "look upon the correctness of the solitary *bin* in the headings of some of "Major Raverty's MSS. as doubtful." The *Táj-ul-Ma'ásir* has no *Arabic headings* like the *Ṭabaqát-i-Násirí*, and does not use the word *bin*, but, that work not being written in the *Túrání* idiom, the *Kasrah* of *izáfat*, where necessary, is understood. The author of the *Táj-ul-Ma'ásir* could not have had a good or an old copy of the "*Ṭabaqát*" seeing it was only written *thirty years* and more after that work. Neither has the *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí* Arabic headings, Budá'úní says he copies from his patron's

* Where is it so stated before I stated it?

work. I have already shown, in my notes 6 and 4 to pages 697 and 711, and in many other places of my Translation, what the Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí is. The Author in all probability *saw* the Ṭabaḳát-i-Nāsirí, but, as I suppose, he did not *take the trouble to collate* different copies, and contented himself with one—for example the I. O. L. MS. 1952, “a good old copy” too, which one person, at least, styles an “autograph”—the short-comings of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí may be accounted for. Firishtah contains *nothing whatever*—not a *single event*—respecting the Turk Sultáns of the Mu'izzí and Shamsí dynasties, but what is contained in the Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí, even to the poetical quotations and the blunders also.

I do not *propose* to change the name of the “conqueror of Bengal”: I *do* more. I *do* change it, without the least hesitation, on the authority of the best extant copies of the text of the “Ṭabaḳát,” which work, as Mr. Blochmann most correctly observes, “*is the only authority we possess for this period,*” and it will require positive proof to the contrary to make me give up the point. Because a name has been written incorrectly before, on wrong assumption, or on mere theories, and because the two names Muḥammad and Bakht-yár have been handed down and repeated from one writer to another as that of *one* man only, is there any reason why such error should be obstinately stuck to through thick and thin?

But at the same time I must state that I have naught to gain or lose by the change: I have no object in changing it, and only do so on the “undoubted authority” of my author. The matter lies in a nut-shell: either the father *was called* Bakht-yár, or he was *not*. If he was so called, then *he* has hitherto had the credit for *what his son* performed.

As to Muḥammad with the *kasrah* of *izáfat* being correct, I fancy Mr. Blochmann, even in a Muḥammadan “School Register,” [a great authority certainly,] never found one person called Muḥammad Maḥmúd without the last referred to his father—certainly not if a Musalmán in his senses wrote it down. But with regard to the “conqueror’s” name, *i. e.* Muḥammad, and Bakht-yár, that is Bakht-yár-ud-Dín, his father’s name, the word *bin*—son of—I first noticed in the oldest British Museum copy, one of the three best I have had for my translation, and Professor Rieu, on whose words, opinion, and experience in such matters, I place implicit confidence, considers it a MS. of the 14th century, or about a century after the time that Minháj-ud-Dín wrote. The word *bin* also occurs in the other British Museum MS., and in the best St. Petersburg copy, which is another of the three I refer to, and in the very old copy I have—which apparently looks, but may not be, much older than either of the other two—the whole of the headings are pointed, and in this last MS. the word *bin* does not occur, for at this particular place, as well as in a few other instances where *bin*, as in the case of Muḥammad *bin* Súrí, of whom more anon, *is* subsequently given, the *bin* has clearly been left out, accidentally, by the copyist.

The word *bin*—Mr. Blochmann's "solitary *bin*"—also occurs in the best Paris copy. So *bin*—"son of"—occurs in four MSS. : in three of the best and oldest copies ; the *izáfat* in a fourth *which often uses the izáfat for BIN in other instances where son of is undoubtedly meant* ; and *bin* in a fifth considered to be a precious "autograph" of the author's. In the other MSS. vowel-points are not marked, but the *izáfat* is, without doubt, meant there, as in other places where not marked. The "one or two authors" seems to be disapproved of—I had an object in not stating all my authors' names at the time.

I can give hundreds of such like instances of *bin* and an *izáfat* being used indiscriminately. But just look at the Calcutta Printed Text for example—the first page that meets the eye—page ۴۴ 44, the heading is "Al Amír Muḥammad, *bin* 'Abbás," and immediately under, second line, are the words:—*بامیر محمد عباس سپرد* * * * * * *ممالك غور* and, as rendered in my version, page 332, "He made over the kingdom of Ghúr to Amír Muḥammad-i-'Abbás," and which Mr. Blochmann, according to his theory, would have written "Amír Muhammad 'Abbas," and so have made *one person of the plural*. There is another good example at pages ۱۱۴ and ۲۱۵ viz. :—*غياث الدين محمود بن محمد سام*—Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd *bin* Muḥammad-i-Sám. Here *bin* is used for one person—the son, and an *izáfat* understood and required for another person—the father : there is no *izáfat* marked, but it *must* be used, because Muḥammad, his father, was not called Sám, but he was the son of Sám—that is Bahá-ud-Dín, Sám. Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd's father's name, is written in full in the headings with *bin*, but under, *غياث الدين محمد سام*—Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, and likewise his brother's, *معز الدين محمد سام*—Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, but, by the theory put forth in the "*Contributions*," and the system followed in the translation of the "*Aín-i-Akbarí*," they would both be turned into Sám which alone refers to their father, and not to them, as the headings as well as the text—including the printed text—most undoubtedly show, and many other examples are to be found in the work. The names in the headings are written in Arabic, in every copy, throughout the whole book, and in the body of the work, according to the Persian idiom, the *izáfat* for *bin* is understood, as is also the case with the name of Ikhtiyár-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, *bin* Bakht-yár-ud-Dín, the Khalj, and others.

Another matter tending to prove that Bakht-yár is the father's titular name, is the fact that the author of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí*—one of those who must have had the old and correct MSS.—styles him, "Malik Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yár-ud-Dín." Muḥammad *could not possibly* be called Bakht-yár-ud-Dín, and Ikhtiyár-ud-Dín *too*.

The same author, by the bye, at the head of the chapter, styles the "conqueror" of Bengal IKHTIYÁR-UD-DÍN, MUHAMMAD, *only*. Why ? Because he understood that Bakht-yár-ud-Dín was his father's name.

"Further," says Mr. Blochmann, "supposing *bin* to be correct, is it "not strange, nay totally un-Persian, to speak continually of Muhammad-*bin*-Bakhtyár, or Muhammad-*i*-Bakhtyár, instead of using the single name "of Muhammad? This would be Arabic usage. Thirdly, if Mahmúd were "the grandfather, it would have been extraordinary on the part of the author "to have left out the grandfather in the heading, and in the beginning of "the chapter, when Muhammad Bakhtyár's descent is spoken of, and merely "incidentally to mention it in connexion with the paternal uncle."

It certainly would be *un*-Persian to speak continually of Muḥammad-*bin* Bakht-yár, hence, after the Arabic heading, as in other places throughout the whole work of Minháj-ud-Dín, the Persian izáfat is understood. Scores of examples in the text also show that a man's single name, such for example as Muḥammad would be here, is unusual except in the case of some slaves whose fathers' names appear to have been unknown. So engrafted is the custom of using the father's name with the son's [but not the grandfather's], that in our Indian Courts we find *bin* and *walad* always used, and even in Bombay we find low-caste Hindús, Dehrys, &c., styled, for example—"Lakhsman, *walad* Nursia," and "Pándú *bin* Sánto," &c. A grandfather's name is very seldom put in the headings of the *Ṭabaḳát-i Násirí*—it is not usual to do so. Had the paternal uncle's name occurred in a heading the word *bin* would have been written no doubt; but, as I have before noticed, did any person ever hear one man called Muḥammad Mahmúd? I know, however, that one of the sons of Mahmúd of Ghaznín is styled Muḥammad-*i*-Mahmúd, and that his uncles are styled, Naṣr-i-Sabuk-Tigín, and Yúsuf-*i*-Sabuk-Tigín respectively. What a nice thing for a translator to make one man of them!

"Lastly," writes Mr. Blochmann, "the use of the Izáfat, instead of "*bin* or *pisar* (son), is restricted to poetry, and does not occur in prose [see "note‡, page 280]. I see therefore, no reason to change the name of the "conqueror of Bengal, as proposed by Major Raverty."

This is a matter of such vital importance that I must give two examples of what may be caused through a translator not knowing where to place the izáfat so much objected to, as never occurring in Persian *prose*, in place of *bin*, son of, and which is so "*un*-Persian."

A careful and conscientious writer like ELPHINSTONE says, in Book V, Chapter I, of his History of India, that "Mahommed-Cásim" invaded Sind; and, page after page, and paragraph after paragraph, it is said that "Cásim" did this, and "Cásim" did that, and that "the Mohametan arms ceased with the death of Cásim."

In ELLIOT also, Vol. I, page 138, the extract from the Chach-námah commences with the death of Ráe Dáhir "at the hands of Muhammad Kásim Sakifi." These names—for they are used as that of *one* person—

"Muhammad Kásim" occur in scores of places throughout the extract, but, at page 157 we also have "Imádu-d-dín Muhammad Kásim bin Abí 'Akíl Sakifí.

Now "Cásim" or "Kásim" had nothing whatever to do with Sind or its conquest. He was *dead* before *his son*, Muḥammad, was appointed by his uncle to lead the 'Arabs into Sind, and so the father, who was in his grave at the time, has had credit up this moment, in our Histories of India, for what his son performed, in the same manner that Bakht-yár-ud-Dín, the Khalj, has had the credit for what his son, Ikhtiyár-ud-Dín, performed.

From Ṭabarí downwards, the name of the conqueror of Sind is 'Imádu-d-Dín, Muḥammad, *son of Kásim, son of Muḥammad, son of Ḥakam, son of Abú-'Uḡail, and Al-Biládurí*, an extract from whose work is given in Elliot, says the same as Ṭabarí; but because the author of the Chach-Námah headed his Chapters in Persian instead of Arabic, the necessary *izáfat* was not recognized, and hence this lamentable error. Such is history.

Examples of this I have already given; but turn to page ۴۰—40 of the Calcutta Printed Text, which is the same as other copies in these instances, and the fourth line from the heading are these words محمود سبکتگین رسید *chún takht-i-Ghaznín ba Amír Mahmúd-i-Sabuk-Tagín rasíd*. Does Mr. Blochmann mean to assert that Sabuk-Tigín is not the father's name? So much for the random assertion that "the *izáfat* instead of *bin* or *pisar* [which last I have not used] is *restricted to poetry*, and does not occur in *prose*," and according to the foot-note that it "is rare in poetry, and poets do not like to use this *Izáfut*." If Mr. Blochmann met with the following in Indian History—شهاب الدوله هارون بغرا ایلک خان—I wonder what he would think of it: he would write it "Shihábuddaulah Hárún Bughrá 'l-lak Khán," and make one person of it. I, however, would read it—"Shiháb-ud-Daulah, Hárún-i-Bughrá-i-'l-lak-Khán," because I know for certain that Hárún who is entitled Shiháb-ud-Daulah is the son of Bughrá, who is the son of the 'l-lak Khán, who is named Músá, who were Kháns of Máwar-un-Nahr of the Afrásiyábi dynasty.

Next, in the same foot-note,‡ page 280 of the *Contributions*," Mr. Blochmann says that "Minhá-j-i-Siráj" does not mean in prose, 'Minhá-j, the *son of Siráj*,' but Minháj who writes under the name of Siráj. That the "father's name was Siráj has nothing to do with it."

Mr. Blochmann would find it difficult to show me where he "writes under the name of Siráj." I suppose it will be allowed that that Author *knew his own name*, and his father's, and if that be allowed, he calls himself repeatedly Minháj-i-'l-Dín-i-Saráj, and he further says that his father was the Mauláná Minháj-ud-Dín, whose father was the Mauláná Minháj-ud-Dín, 'Uḡmán, whose father was the Imám, 'Abd-ul-Khálík, the Júrjání. For

these reasons ABÚ-'UMR-I-'USMÁN, who is also called MINHÁJ-UD-DÍN, sometimes styles himself in his work—MINHÁJ-I-SARÁJ-I-MINHÁJ—referring to father and grandfather also. Here are two *izáfats*, and in prose too. See also note 7, page 727 of my Translation.

I have already shown Mr. Blochmann's theory of "artificial" *izáfats*, as he calls them, to be "*un-Persian*," but, to prove that another statement here made is likewise incorrect, I must prominently notice another *izáfát*. It refers to the article "*Who were the 'Patan' or 'Pathan' Sultáns of Dihlí*"—the paper in the JOURNAL A. S. BENGAL, for 1875, page 31. Mr. Blochmann says in the same foot-note,‡ page 280, "*Contributions*," para. 2, "The form of the name of Muhammad-i-Súrí, on whose name Major Raverty has built a hypothesis, is doubtful for this *Izáfát*."

Mr. Blochmann, apparently, did not notice that the matter of the *kasrah* of *izáfát*, at page 31 of the JOURNAL, has reference *solely* to FIRISH-TAH and his translators. If he will take the trouble to refer to my Translation, page 316, and to the corresponding place, page 38—38 of the Calcutta Printed Text, he will find the heading, SÚRÍ, *son* of MUHAMMAD, showing that here Súrí is itself a Ghúrí name. Then let him turn to page 320 of the Translation, and he will find the heading "MALIK MUHAMMAD *bin* SÚRÍ", but in the corresponding place in the printed text page 40—40, merely ملك محمد سوري. If I chose to be guided by Mr. Blochmann's theory on that heading alone, and did not know that the *kasrah* of توصيفي or description was required, and was in any doubts respecting the persons I was writing about; I might have called him, as Mr. Blochmann would, Muhammad Súrí, as though the two names belonged to *one* man, and have turned *two* men into *one* accordingly. The printed text also mentions him as محمد سوري twice in the same page, but a third time, in the last line of that page, when speaking of Malik Muhammad having made over Ghúr to his *eldest* son, his name is given with his father's and grandfather's name—امير ابو علي بن محمد بن سوري viz.:—Amír Bú 'Alí, *son of* Muhammad, *son of* Súrí.

Look again at the following heading in the Printed Text—page 41—41, and there it is again confirmed, and we have علي بن محمد بن سوري—Abú-'Alí, *son of* Muhammad, *son of* Súrí, but in the ninth line, the father is again called محمد سوري the *izáfát* being understood. The next heading also refers to Muhammad being Súrí's son, viz.:—'Abbás, *son of* Shíṣ, *son of* Muhammad, *son of* Súrí.

If my long note on this subject, 7, page 321, had been read before taxing me with building up a doubtful "hypothesis," it might have been seen that in the Kitáb-i-Yamíní, the author of which was contemporary with this very Muhammad, *son of* Súrí, who it is pretended [merely because Dow and Briggs so rendered it and made a Pathán of him], was called

Muhammad Súrí, he is never once referred to as *Muhammad* but as *ابن سوری* the son of *Súrí*. The *Tárikh-i-Alfí*, *Faṣīḥ-i*, *Jahán-Ará*, *Rauzat-uṣ-Ṣafá*, *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar*, *Mir'át-i-Jahán-Numá*, and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawárikh*, call him *son of Súrí* only; and in the account of *Maḥmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín's* raid upon the *Ghúris* in the *Jámi'-ut-Tawárikh* he is also merely called *son of Súrí*: never *Muhammad*. The Bengal A. S. Library contains a copy [No. 14] of this work, and Mr. Blochmann can refer to it. He will find, if the portion copied for me has been correctly copied, that in the first two places this *Ghúrián* chief is called *شوری* *Shúrí*—a mistake of *ش* for *س* but, four or five lines from the end of the paragraph, he is styled *پسر شوری* *pisar-i-Shúrí*—that is the *son of SHÚRÍ*, and it is clear that *Rashíd-ud-Dín* followed the *Kitáb-i-Yamíní* and styled him *son of Súrí* likewise, but that, in two instances, the copyist of that MS. No. 14, or the Calcutta *kátib*, left out the word *پسر* before the name, in the first two instances.

If the two words '*Alí Mardán alone*' mean '*Alí who was as valiant as many men*, and if *Muhammad Sherán alone* also mean *Muhammad who was equal to many Lions*, and his brother is also "equal to many Lions" [rather strange that *both* brothers should be so], whence come these *five* or *six* "artificial" words, since without artificial means being adopted, the words '*Alí Mardán* are—' *Alí men*—and *Muhammad Sherán*—*Muhammad Lions*? These words would, without the *kasrah* of description be much the same as *Sháh Jahán*—*King World*—referred to in what I have said on the *izáfat*, and which is a complete answer also to these questions. *Muḥammadan* "School Registers" have nothing to do with it. The *Khalj* Turks of *Garmsír* did not keep any Registers.

As this answer to Mr. Blochmann's criticisms may fall under the notice of readers not acquainted with the *Irání* dialect of the Persian, and as he constantly refers me to his "*Áin*," I must point out how inconsistent he is himself about these *izáfats*—I do not think I can be taxed with inconsistency—and how often his *izáfats* are used *when they are not required*, and *wanting when not used*. These inconsistencies, which I take from his translation of the *Áin-i-Akbarí*, may be seen at a glance; he appears to have no *fixed* system:—"Mir *Sharíf-i-Ámulí*" requires the *izáfat* according to his theory, but, as *Mir Sharíf* was a native of *Ámul*, the *yá-i-nisbat* or of relation affixed to *Ámul*—*أُمَلِي*—*i. e. of Ámul*—as it is written in the MS. from which it is taken, was sufficient; as *Flurs*—Persia, *Flursí*—Persian or of Persia; and *Panj-áb*—*Panj-ábí*; *Afghán*, *Afghání*, &c. The same occurs in "*Shaikh Faríd-i-Bukharí*," which last word containing the *yá-i-nisbat* means, *of Bukhará*, or the *Bukharíán*. As is now stands it is "*Shaikh Faríd the Bukharí*." Again, in the words "*Aláuddín-i-Khiljí*," although, at the very first page of Part III. of the "*Contributions*" referred to, the word *Khiljí* is called *an adjective*.

In another place, I find, "A'zam Khán" vide *Khán-i-A'zam* [see example of Izáfat previously given], and we find "Khán-i-A'zam" accordingly, but Mir-i-'Adl [as I should write it] is not correct according to Mr. Blochmann's theory: it must be "*Mir 'Adl.*" For example, I will give a list of some of the titular names and patronymics, and Mr. Blochmann's *different ways* of writing them:—

"Chingiz Khán" in histories called "Qáán i Buzurg"; Çadr Jahán Muftí requires no *izáfat*, but "Muftí-i-Mamálik" does, and "Umará-i-Kibár" does; "KhánKhánán" and "Khánkhánán" requires none: "Khán-i-Kalán" does; and "Khán-i-A'zam" does; "Khán 'Álam Fírúz-jang," "Nuçratjang" and "Khán Zamán" require none: "Rustam-i-Zamán," Túzuk-i-Jahángirí, and Farhang-i-Jahángirí do: but Bahár-i-Dánish from me would be a dangerous innovation too, and my "Sháh-i-Jahán" is dangerous and *un-Persian*, but "Malikah i Jahán" is not! "Açaf Khán 'Abdul Majíd" requires no *izáfat*, but *the same person* "Abdul Majíd-i-Açaf Khán" does; Sulaimán Kararání [by-the-bye, there is *no such name*] requires no *izáfat*, but, a little farther on, it requires to be written "Sulaimán-i-Kararání"! I could multiply these examples *ad infinitum*.

Burdan-kot may be due "north of Bagurá (Bogra) in Long. 89° 28', Lat. 25° 8' 25", close to Govindganj, on the Karataya River," but I fail to find it in the 119th Sheet of the Indian Atlas; but great changes must have taken place since Minháj-ud-Dín wrote, when "a river" flowed in front of *his* Burdan-kot, "of vast magnitude, the name of which is Bagmatí; and, *when it enters the country of Hindústán*, they style it, in the Hindúí dialect, Samund (ocean) and, in magnitude, breadth, and depth, it is three times more than the river Gang" [Translation, page 561], and the Karataya must therefore have grown "small by degrees and beautifully less."

I did not "*identify* Maksadah": My words [note 4, page 576] are "the Maxadabad *probably* of the old Maps," &c.

Mr. Blochmann at page 284 kindly recommends me to Mr. Thomas's "INITIAL COINAGE OF BENGAL," regarding the reigns of "Muhammad Bakhtyár's" immediate successors; but as I have the account of "Minháj-ud-Dín," "*the sole authority for the period*," and some others, I can dispense with it, and have already done so in my Translation.

I am very glad to find, however, that Mr. Thomas has met with the coins of Ikhtiyár-ud-Dín, DAULAT SHÁH-I-BALKÁ, the Khalj, mentioned in my Translation, page 626 and farther on, which has not appeared in the "*Contributions*," or doubts might probably have been thrown on his very existence as a ruler.

I am told that Sultán Firúz Sháh-i-Abú-l-Muzaffar, Sháh-i-Jahán, the Hábashí, "has not been included" among the "Pathan" dynasties. He will be found in Dow and Briggs, and in the following, respecting some coins found in "Cooch Behar": "*Of the other Bengal Pathans whose coins occur in this trove, I [Rájendralála Mitra] have to notice FIRUZ SHAH THE ABYSSINIAN.*" * See *Bengal A. S. Journal*, 1864, page 481.

Page 285, of the "*Contributions*," Mr. Blochmann says regarding Jáj-nagar, "Major Raverty *has come* to the same conclusion as *I had*."

This is really too magnanimous on his part, and more than I can accept. I beg leave to state that I *had* come to the conclusion many years before I offered the Translation, of the *Ṭabakát-i-Násirí* to the Society: in fact, in 1865.

Mr. Blochmann will find *Katásin* by and bye: I shall have something to say about it hereafter.

Page 285, "*Contributions*," it is said, "Major Raverty's assertion that 'Lakhnautí' was called by the Emperor Humáyún 'Bakhtábád,' is untenable." If Mr. Blochmann thinks Bakhtábád is a copyist's error, he can satisfy himself, for, of course, he had seen and consulted the "*Khuláḡat uttawárikh*," which is "a modern work." It is an excellent one nevertheless in many ways. I found the two copies I consulted quite similar, and quoted it accordingly. Page 286 of "*Contributions*," we have "*As the borderland to the west of Jáj-nagar Major Raverty mentions Garhá-Katanka, and then says (page 587) quoting the Ma'dan-i-Akhhár-i-Ahmadí that 'on the north it is close to the Bháṭah territory [the Bháṭí of the Áin-i-Akbarí], and, south, is close to the Dakhan.*" "But this is an extraordinary confusion of names, partly due to the author of the *Ma'dan*, especially "if he wrote Bhāṭah with a long á. He means Bhāṭh, or Bhat-ghorá, the "mountainous tract south of Alláhábád, whilst Bháṭí is the name of the "Sundarban region along the Bay of Bengal," &c.

Mr. Blochmann has evidently not seen "the *Ma'dan*," but that Bháṭí is written, or rather *printed*, with a long á, is not due to "the *Ma'dan*" at all, but to "the *Áin*"—my MS. original I mean. The *Ma'dan* has بهته but I, foolishly depending on my *Áin-i-Akbarí* as a better authority, put it in as I found it there بهاتي with ا. So what is supposed to be an error of "the *Ma'dan*'s" is really mine from being thus led astray. Whether Mr. Blochmann's *Áin* contains it I cannot say, but the *Áin* before me has بهاتي. I see nothing, even according to Mr. Blochmann, particularly wrong even in the *Jámi'-ut-Tawárikh*, although it is styled a "compilation without value," when we consider what natives write imagine regarding the cardinal points; and that work evidently refers to the Bháṭí Sundar-ban which was S. W. from the place, probably, where the author of it wrote.

Whether Bhaṭah, Bháṭah, Bhaṭí, or Bhátí, with long or short *a*, it comes from the same original. In the Áin translation it is said: "Abulfazl gives this spelling in the 'Akbar-námah,' and says it means *lowland* from the Hindústání بهاتی, *down the river*." The word is written in Hindi بهاتی and بهتی.

As to the "stone" wall in the same paragraph of the "*Contributions*," referring to note page 595 of my Translation, I mentioned that "I am not *personally* acquainted with Bengal," but my Áin's words respecting it are as follows:—

در سرکار منکیر از دریای کنگ تا کوه سنکین دیواری کشیده اند

I wonder how any one would read that, the *hamzah*—ء—expressing the *izáfat* being added to کوه even according to the "Túrání" idiom? To express what Mr. Blochmann says of the stone wall, I should have expected to have found it written کنگ تا کوه دریای سنکین کشیده اند and then there could be no possible mistake even for a copyist to make in MS.

In a foot-note to page 286 also it is said: "Major Raverty mentions [it should have *added* what *I really did* say at page 592] the Afghán Zamíndár of Bírghúm and *Ját-nagar*—the italics, I daresay, imply a reference to Jáj-nagar," &c.—*I daresay* they imply nothing of the sort; and the previous *twenty-six* paragraphs on Jáj-nagar, extending over *six pages*, will show, to any ordinary eye, where I consider Jáj-nagar to be.

Persons not absolutely acquainted with a locality may at 6000 miles' distance, in the extreme west of England, and not having the staff of a *Madrasah* at command, and *on the spot*, be involved in error by a clerical mistake in a MS., and in proof of this and show that he is not immaculate, I will give a single instance out of many in Mr. Blochmann's own Áin Translation, quoting the Ma'áşir-ul-Umará, although he is *in* India.

Page 422, vol. i. :—"Regarding the town of Bhakkar, Abulfazl says that it is called in old books Mañúrah. *Six rivers* united pass by it in *several branches* (sic); two branches lie to the south, one to the north. The town *at the latter branch*, is called Bhakkar. On the second branch another town lies, called Loharí, and *near it is the Indus*."

So, according to this, "Bhakkar" and "Loharí" are not *on the Indus*, but *near it*!

The following is, literally, what the Ma'áşir-ul-Umará, says:—"Bhakar is the name of a fort among the erections of former times—in old books they write it Mañúrah—and all the *six* northern rivers [*i. e.* the Indus and the Panj-áb], having become one, pass by it—one portion passing on the southern side, and one part on the northern. The *kaşbahs* named Sakhar—سکهر—a town on one bank of the river, and another town, known as

Lhorí, —لھوری—on the other side [Sindhís often substitute *r* for *l*] were always included in Sind. Mírzá Sháh Husain, the Arghún, entirely rebuilt it [Bhakar] of exceeding great strength, and made it over to Sultán Muḥammad-i-Kokal-Tásh."

This is perfectly intelligible to any one who has seen Sakhar, Bhakar, and Rohrí, or looked at a map only. Notwithstanding the "learned" Abú-l-Faẓl, however, Manṣúrah was a totally different place to Bhakar, and some 200 miles farther down the river. See page 540 of my Translation, and note, last para. of that page.

With reference to what is called [*"Contributions,"* page 279,] my "dangerous innovations" in spelling names, which in reality means that everything is innovating which may be contrary to Mr. Blochmann's system, I foresaw, at the outset, that we should not agree in this matter, we having, it appears, peculiar ideas on this point. Such Bengal names as are derived from the Sanscrit may, in some instances, be not quite correct: I have written them as my Persian authorities write them, and from my system of transliteration—the Jonesian system—the original letters may be known. In some few places "the printer's devil" has left his mark upon them [as he has in my Paper on "*the Pathán Dynasties*," with a vengeance], and Mr. Blochmann was in such a hurry that he did not wait for the list of errata to my Translation, but thought he had made a discovery. For example: the word Aṣif is an error for Aṣaf; Bīkrámpúr for Bīkrampúr, Jessore for Jellasure, and Dīnjápúr for Dīnájúpúr. The last will be found corrected at page 559.

As to the rectly, referred to in note † of the same page of the "*Contributions*," I do not agree as to the word Sálár being part of the name: it refers to a chief—*Sipah-Sálár* may be a proper name after the same fashion. In ELLIOT [page 315, vol. ii.] the man's title and name are actually translated "*victorious general*." I shall expect with some curiosity Mr. Blochmann's strictures or otherwise on this translation of "*Minhá-j-us-Siráj*." ظفر —Zafar—means *victory*—so it would be *Sálár victory*—chief victory—if translated. Arabic words—active participles in particular—are used as Musalmán names and titles, but it is new to find the noun Zafar—victory—used for the purpose.

Minhá-j-ud-Dín, and a score of others write Kálbí—it is used as well as Kálpí. In Lexicons words beginning with ب *b* and پ *p*, will be *both* found under the letter *b*.

Kuhrám—is spelt thus کھرام with *Káf-i-Tázi* and *rú-i-Hindí* in a geographical account of the upper provinces from Dihlí to the Indus, and from thence to Sindh, Kandahár, and all round to Ladákh, and the Antarbéd Do-áb, which I should have published but for the years I have given to the Ṭabaḳát-i-Nāṣirí. Elliot also spells it with *k*, not *g*.

Budá'ún is spelt بُدَاوُن and also بُدَاوُن* Budán'ún, the first *n* being nasal; Sursuti—سُرْسُتِي; Siwastán—سِيوَسْتَان, and also Shíwastán, from Sanskrit शिव, a Hindú deity; Jamádí جمادی is written in the Irání idiom: sometimes Jamádá; 'Arif—عارِف, 'Arifain—عَارِفَيْن; Tazkirah or Tazkarah, both are correct; Shajr and Shijr both signify a tree in Arabic, hence Shajarah or Shijarah may be used; Saráj, which I have also met with spelt *Siráj*, signifies a lamp, luminary, or the sun, hence Saráj-ud-Dín, the father, means "the Luminary of the Faith," as his son's name, Minháj-ud-Dín signifies "the Highway or Road of the Faith"; Waná-Gangá—وَنَاگَنگَا; Gúdáwuri [ask a Madrásí how he pronounces it]—گوداوری; Rásín—راسین; Chhotah Nág-púr چھوٹہ ناگپور; Jhár Kundah جھار کُنڈہ and جھار کُنڈہ [signifying bushy, a forest, the forest of Baijnáth] and is also written in some of the works quoted in my Translation with چ جھار کُنڈہ; and Karmah-násah is written کرمہ ناسہ and Karam-Násá کرم ناسا.

The Haft-Iklím of Mr. Blochmann may be different, but my copies of that "excellent work" have precisely what I have given at page 593. As to when the author finished his work, or where he got his Hindí ३ from, may be seen from that work. Perhaps Mr. Blochmann will examine one. Possibly he may have seen a small letter ط written over letters, which are intended to express ٣ ٣ ٣.

The word پُپایان, as any Dictionary will show, means "depression," "lowliness," "inferiority," as well as "end" and "extremity."

Arkhnák is "the printer's devil's" work for Arkhánk, also written رخنک—Rakhang—anglicized Arracan.

I have lived too long in the DAKHAN ever to write it Dak'hin, and I have never written it *Dak'han*; neither could I think of writing Abú Bakir where Abú Bikt is meant.

Mr. Blochmann taxes me with making "dangerous innovations" in spelling proper and geographical names, but he has a peculiar method of his own, and I must point some of them out. I take them merely from the first volume of my Translation of the Áin-i-Akbarí, to which he so often refers me:—

"Mullá *Mubárik*," also "Qutbuddín *Mubárik* Sháh" and "Shaikh *Mubárik*," even on the covers, for Shaikh Mubáarak, Mullá Mubáarak, &c. "Rahtás" instead of Rohtás; "Pasháwar", instead of Pesháwar [پیشاور is written in Pushto with its peculiar ک' or s' h. "Harát" for Hirát [It

* Major Raverty's original has *sukúns* above the *dal*, the medial and the final *nún*. Lower down, in '*arifain*, the *sukúns* stand above the *fe* and the *nún*. Types with fixed diacritical marks are not to be had here.—ED.

may have been supposed that, as Harí was the ancient name, natives of it styled Harawí, and that the river is still the Harí river, "Harát" must be right]; "Darogah" for Dároghah; "Farmilí" for Farmulí; "Zúl-nún" for Zú-u-Nún [Jonas]; "Zúzan," for Zozan or Zauzan; "Jhelam" [whence the *e* ?], for Jhilam; "Sodharah," for Súdhará; "Shujá" for Shuja; "Bhambar," for Bhimbar; "Bigrám," for Bagráin; "Pak'hali" for Pakhlí or Paklí; "Qárlýghs," as the transliteration of قارلوق—Kárlúgh; "Bhírah and Khusháb," for Bharah and Khúsháb; "Sewe," for Síwí; "Baloch," for Balúch; "Duáb," for Do-áb or Do-ábah; "Chanáb," for Chináb; "Sukkar" and "Suk'har opposite Bhakkar," for Sakhar and Bhakar or Bhakhar; "Qanauj," for Kinnauj; "Gálnah," for Jálnah; "Guhram," for Kuhrám; "Tiranbak," for Trimbak and Trimbak; "Qalát," for Kal'at; "Sahwán," for Sihwán; "Dará Shikoh," for Dará Shukoh; "Qoran" and "Qorán," for Qur'án; "Kázarín," for Kázirín; "Sulaimán Kararání" and "Sulaimán *i* Kararání," in several places, for Sulímán, the Karání: ["Kararání" is an impossible name]; "Músá Razá," for Músá-i-Rizá [*i. e.* the son of Músá-ul-Kázim, the Imám]; "Khattar," for Khaṭ-har [کھتر]; "Dilazák," for Dilazák; "Raushánis, who like other Afghán tribes," &c., there being no such Afghán tribe whatever; "Khán Jahán Lodhí," for Khán-i-Jahán, Lodí; "District of Mount Teráh," for Hill tract of Tíráh: "Táiqán" for Táekán.

The system of writing 'Arabic words is after the same uncertain fashion:—at one time, "Makhdúm-ul-Mulk," at another, "Makhdúm ulmulk"; "Mu'izzulmulk" at one time: "Mu'izz-ul-Mulk", and "Mu'izz-ul Mulk" another; "Zakhírat ulkhawánín" at one time, "Zakhíratul-khawánín," another; "Çimçám uddaulah," for Şamşam-ud-Daulah*; "Abú-jahl," for Abú-Jhal*; "Rauzat-uççafá," for Rauzat-uş-Safá, and the like.

Some 'Arabic titular names and patronymics *require* the 'Arabic **ج** to give them sense, such as "Mihrunnisá," for Mihr-*un*-Nisá, and "'Abd-ul Majíd" for 'Abd-*ul*-Majíd, but with other words, used according to the Persian idiom, which require an equivalent to this **ج** in the shape of the *kasrah* of description the Izáfat is *wrong*, "dangerous," "*un*-Persian", and must be "Núr Jahán", "Núr Mahall", like Sháh Jahán, which mean, respectively, thus written, "Light-world," "Light-palace or house," and, "King-World," *instead of* Núr-i-Jahán—The Light of the World; Núr-i-Mahall—The Light of the Palace or House; Sháh-i-Jahán—The King of the World; and yet, when he comes to translate them, Mr. Blochmann *adds* these "artificial" izáfats to get the *the* and *of the*, as in "Çadr Jahán"—Muftí *of the* empire; and "'Abdurrahím Khárf"—Abdurrahím *the* Ass, &c.

* Thus in printed original. **En.**

† The long á in Major Raverty's printed original. **En.**

In concluding these remarks I think what I have here given is sufficient reason for my saying that, in the matter of *izāfats*, and system of spelling proper and geographical names, I shall never follow Mr. Blochmann.

Note.—The above article has been inserted at the urgent request of Major Raverty. As he has now stated his views on Persian Grammar, &c., and Mr. Blochmann does not think it necessary to write a 'Rejoinder', the subject has come to a close. Ed.

Morals of Kālidāsa.—By PRANNĀTH PAṆḌIT, M. A.

It has been remarked by a great philosopher that the conception of man as the chief of the economy of nature is a stimulus to the cultivation of the noble qualities, which place him at the head of the living hierarchy. There can be, he observes, no danger of apathy in a position like this,—with the genuine and just pride of such pre-eminence stirring within us; and above us the type of perfection, below which we must remain, but which will ever be inviting us upwards.* Viewed in this light, it may not be uninteresting to investigate the moral type which the greatest of Indian poets held up for imitation to his contemporaries, men within whom there stirred not only the pride of being placed at the head of the living hierarchy, but that of being the highest development of the human race.

The four divisions of Morality which I have adopted in this paper are the following:

- I. Individual.
- II. Domestic.
- III. Social.
- IV. Military and Political.

And I may here mention once for all, that neither in the principles, nor in the details of classification, do I pretend any claims to originality.

INDIVIDUAL MORALITY. Self-conservation.—In the first great subdivision of Individual Morality, namely, self-conservation, Kālidāsa does not fail us. He tells us of *Dilīpa* that he guarded himself, though not through fear† to which the advice of the disguised *Shiva* that the body is the first requisite for religious works‡ may serve as a commentary. *Nandini* advises the same king to preserve his body, the enjoyer of continuous hap-

* Comte's Positive Philosophy, translated by H. Martineau, Vol. II, p. 554.

† जगोपात्मानमचक्षः । Raghu., I. 21.

‡ शरीरमाद्यं खलु धर्मसाधनम् । Kumāra Sambhava, V. 33.

pininess* and the disciple of the sage *Varatantu* eloquently exposes to *Aja* the futility of killing himself through grief for his Queen.†

Maiming.—Recognising the justifiableness of maiming a member for the preservation of the whole, Kálidása has adduced the example of a snake-bitten finger, which though otherwise so dear, must be excised.‡

Sati.—In the case of *Sati*§ the individual duty of self-preservation is subordinated to the higher duty of conjugal fidelity, and it cannot be urged as a reproach against our poet, that he was one-sided in his conceptions. Whatever might be the popular practice, Kálidása|| could conceive of a husband's immolating himself on the funeral pyre of his beloved wife, or deterred from that by exterior considerations, killing himself deliberately in some manner more orthodox. In the case of the disconsolate consort of the God of Love, the final catastrophe is avoided,¶ without any detriment to her conjugal fidelity, by the intervention of a voice from the sky which bids her desist, as her husband would at last be restored to life.

Suicide.—Mallinatha** feels himself bound to justify the apparent immorality of the suicide of the blind parents of the boy whom Dasharatha had unwittingly dealt a death-wound, and he does so on the ground of a text which permits decrepit *Vánaprasthas*, when no longer able to perform sacrificial rites, to put an end to their existence by falling from a precipice, burning in fire, or drowning in water. The suicide of Rama may†† be explained on two theories. Firstly, the obligation that the poet was under, of not falsifying such a cardinal point in the traditional history; and secondly, the incompatibility of the conception of death by disease or old age, with that of an incarnation of the Supreme Deity.

Health.—Early rising is one of the best means of preserving our health, and this Kálidása predicated of his heroes, though he has said nothing about the general duty of preserving our health. The princes of the solar race are very regular about the hour that they left their beds,‡‡

* तद्रूपं कल्याणपरम्पराणाम् भोक्तारमूर्जखलमात्मदेहम् । Raghu., II. 50.

† Raghu., VIII. 83—90.

‡ त्याज्यो दुष्टः प्रियोऽप्यासीदङ्गुलीवोरगच्छता । Raghu., I. 28.

§ Raghu., XVII. 6.

|| Raghu., VIII. 72, 94, 95.

¶ Kumára Sambhava, IV. 39-45.

** Comm. on Raghu., IX. 81. न चात्रात्मघातदोषः । अनुष्ठानासमर्थस्य वानप्रस्थस्य जीर्यतः । शृग्वग्निजलसङ्घातैर्मरणं प्रविधीयत इत्युक्तेः ।

†† Raghu., XV. 103.

‡‡ यथाकालप्रबोधिनाम् । Raghu., I. 6.

and this is exemplified in the case of Aja.* One of the reasons that led the sage councillors of Dasharatha to approve of his hunting expedition is its bracing effects on the constitution.† The Messenger Cloud is requested to rest his wearied feet and quench his thirst on the lofty mountains and in the cooling rills which abound in his path,‡ and the request to rest himself is repeated further on.§

Wealth.—The duty of accumulation of wealth flows from that of preserving our health, as wealth accumulated is but energy conserved. It was not lost sight of by Kālidāsa. He puts into the mouth of one of his characters the reflection that even a thirsty *Chātaka* cares not to solicit rain of the autumnal cloud whose aquatic stores have been drained to the dregs.|| But knowing withal how to guard against its degenerating into a selfish miserliness, he subordinated it to the higher moral duty of benevolence. As he himself tells us, the good, like the clouds, take but to give.¶ The princes of the solar race, accumulated treasures, in order to be able to give them away,** and of *Dilīpa* we are told that he amassed wealth though devoid of avarice.†† Of another king, Atithi, we are told that he collected treasure only because that lies at the root of patronage, as the *Chātakas* greet only the cloud that carries a store of water in its bosom.‡‡ To use the language of the Meghaduta :

“Of all the fruits that fortune yields, the best

“Is still the power to succour the distressed.§§”

Humility.—Humility lies at the root of self-culture, the second subdivision of Individual Morality, for surely, ere one labours for self-improvement, he must be impressed with a sense of his own shortcomings. Kālidāsa never grudged humility. He begins his *Raghuvansa* with the following confession :

“How men will mock the humble bard who sings

“The ancient glories of sun-born kings ;

* *Raghu.*, V. 65.

† अमजयात्रगुणाच्च करोम्यसौ तनुमतोऽनुमतः सचिवैर्यथै ॥ *Raghu.*, IX. 49.

‡ *Purva Megha.*, 13.

§ *Purva Megha.*, 27. 53.

|| निर्गलिताम्बुगर्भं, शरद्वनं नार्दति चातकोऽपि। *Raghu.*, V. 17.

¶ आदानं हि विसर्गाय सतां वारिमुच्चासिव । *Raghu.*, IV. 86.

** त्यागाय सञ्चतार्थानाम् । *Raghu.*, I. 7.

†† अमृताददे सौम्यम् । *Raghu.*, I. 21.

‡‡ *Raghu.*, XVII. 60.

§§ आपन्नार्तिप्रशसनफलाः सम्यदो ह्युत्तमानाम् । *Purva Megha.*, 54.

"Like a young child with little hands outspread
 "For fruit that glows above a giant's head.*"

Raghu, he informs us, appropriated the wealth of the Kámbojas, but not their pride.† The education of Ráma and his brothers only increased their natural modesty, as oblations of clarified butter magnify the sacrificial fire.‡ Shatrughna bends his head in humility when the holy sages congratulate him on his prowess in killing the demon Lavaṇa.§ Youth, beauty, and prosperity are each of them fountains of pride, but still the king Atithi was humble of mind.|| The same monarch was abashed when the praises which he justly deserved, were uttered before him.¶ Another king *Páriyátra* shared the same virtue.** *Purúravá*, when complimented by the king of *Gandharbas* on his valour in rescuing the nymph *Urvasi* from the profane hands of a vile demon, and thanked in *Indra's* name for the same, modestly disclaims all personal merit :

Pur. You rate the deed too high. Not mine the glory,
 But his, the Thunderer's, from whom derived
 The strength of those who conquer in his cause.
 The very echo of the lion's roar,
 As through the rocky rifts it spreads and deepens,
 Appals the mighty elephant.††

Justly might *Chitraratha* exclaim :

'Tis well.

This modesty becomes your worth. Humility
 Is ever found the ornament of valour.‡‡

Self-control.—The third sub-division of Individual morality is self-control, or the subjection of passion to reason. Kálidása rightly conceived that self-control has a moral value only when it has some temptation to overcome. He reconciles the apparent inconsistency of *Shiva's* behaviour in approving of *Umá's* ministering to his wants, such as they were, whilst engaged in the performance of severe austerities, by the reflection that they indeed are the really firm-minded whose equanimity is not disturbed in the presence of a disturbing cause.§§

* Raghu., I. 3.

† Raghu., IV. 70.

‡ Raghu., X. 79.

§ Raghu., XV. 27.

|| Raghu., XVII. 43.

¶ सूयमानः स जिह्वाय स्तुत्यमेव समाचरन् । Raghu. XVII. 73.

** Raghu., XVIII. 17.

†† Vicramorvashi, Act I. Wilson's Hindu Theatre, Vol. I., p. 204.

‡‡ युक्तम् । अनुकृता खलु विक्रमालङ्कारः । Vicramorvashi, Act I.

§§ Kumára Sambhava, I. 59.

The sexual appetite.—Kālidāsa subordinated the strongest animal appetite to the religious duty of procreating progeny. The princes of the solar race, and *Dilīpa* in particular, marry but to have progeny.* The untimely death of *Agnivarna†* points the moral of a course of abandoned licentiousness to which many an Indian prince has fallen a victim. *Dasha-ratha* had sufficient strength of mind, to withstand such allurements. No passion for the chase, no fondness for dice, nor moon-begemmed goblets, nor the charms of maidens in the bloom of youth, could allure him from the paths of ambition.‡

Temper.—Kālidāsa's sages have sufficient control over their temper, to modify the effects of their curses, when the impertinent victims of rage, too often mere instruments in the hands of their masters, craved for mercy,§ as *Priyamvadī* remarks, water is naturally cold, it is but the communicated heat of fire that makes it momentarily warm.||

The most remarkable case of self-control, however, is to be found in the beginning of the *Raghuvansa*, and fully to appreciate it, a little detail is necessary. *Dilīpa*, king of men, blessing and blessed in his loyal and contented subjects, at peace with his vanquished foes, and ruling the earth—

Like one vast city girdled by the sea,¶
is sad at heart since his lovely queen has borne him no son. He feels most keenly that the load of debt which he owes to his ancestors, remains yet undischarged. The idea is painful that after him there will be none to present the ancestral oblations, none to continue the lineage. He repairs with his consort to his family-preceptor, the sage *Vashishttha*, who by holy meditation arrives at the cause of the king's misfortune. At a "thoughtless moment", he had omitted to pay due respect to the divine cow *Surabhi*, and had been punished in the very object that had caused the fatal omission. As an atonement, he is directed to propitiate her daughter, *Nandini*, by tending her most faithfully through thick and through thin. For three weeks he plied this arduous task, sitting when she stopped, rising when she moved, desiring water only when she had allayed her thirst—pursuing her as her shadow. The next day when he had followed her to fresh fields and

* प्रजायै गृहमेधिनाम् । Ragh., I. 7. परिणेतुः प्रसूतये । Ragh., I. 25.

† Ragh., XIX. 48—54.

‡ Ragh., IX. 7.

§ Ragh., V. 53. 54. VIII. 79, 80, 81.

|| उष्णत्वमग्न्यात्पसन्मयोगान् मैत्र्यं हि यन् सा प्रदत्तिर्जलस्य ॥ Ragh., V. 54.

¶ Griffith.

pastures new, amidst the glens of the Himálaya, and when, confident in his mind that the fiercest beasts of prey could not even entertain an idea of attacking her, he was admiring the majestic scenery around, a lion, unseen, pounces upon *Nandini*. The moan of the victim attracts his attention and his right hand is at once to his quiver. But, wonder of wonders! it is paralysed as soon as it touches the feathered tip of an arrow. Astounded at this strange occurrence, the king burns with his own fury as a serpent whose energy has been restrained by charmed drugs. The Royal beast then, in human language, makes himself known as one of *Shiva's* attendants who had been made to assume the leonine shape for the purpose of scaring away wild elephants from certain trees which were *Párvati's* pets. To ensure the most perfect vigilance, his food was restricted to such animals as might stray into his grasp. The cow therefore was his lawful and pre-ordained prey. *Dilípa* is therefore advised to return to the hermitage, unabashed, as he had tried to do his best in the matter, and there was no help for it.

This speech gave *Dilípa* at least one consolation, namely, that he owed his discomfiture in arms to the majesty of *Shiva* and not to any inferior agency. But to leave his precious trust to her fate, was out of the question. He therefore attempts a compromise by offering himself as a substitute for *Nandini*. The Beast laughs at his foolishness and appeals both to his Self-love and his Benevolence, to preserve himself and let the cow meet her fate. The undisputed sovereignty of the whole earth, the bloom of youth, and such handsome limbs were too much to be sacrificed for an insignificant quadruped. His death would liberate the cow, but plunge into the depths of misery the thousands who flourished under his fatherly protection. Nor was there any thing to be apprehended from the anger of the sage, which might easily be appeased by the present of myriads of stout milk-bearing cattle.

The monarch, however, is unconvinced, despite all this convenient philosophy. He feels that death would be better than belying his Kshatriya protectorate of wrongs. Nor was the cow any ordinary one, but inferior to *Surabhi* only, and but for the prowess of *Shiva*, would have proved a tough morsel for the leonine palate. The loss therefore could not be made good by any number of substitutes. He concludes by adjuring the Lion to take pity not on his terrestrial form, but on his यशः शरीरः, his body of fame. The Lion thereupon leaves hold of the cow, and the king offers himself up as a ball of meat before him. At this supreme crisis, when, with down-cast eyes, he was expecting every moment the infuriated beast to fall on his back, and with famished paws to tear him open from limb to limb, a shower of flowers falls from the sky, and the nectareous words float to his ear, 'Rise, Son!' He rises to see only the cow

standing before him as an affectionate mother. The whole was an illusion called up by *Nandini* to test the sincerity of *Dilīpa's* devotion, and pleased with the result of the ordeal, she asks him to mention any boon, and, as might be expected, he asks for a son, the founder of a race. *Nandini* thereupon directs him to improvise a goblet of leaves and quaff her milk. He had at last attained the goal of his long-cherished desires. After toil, danger, and sacrifice, the prize lay within his grasp. What does he do? He informs her most respectfully that he would rather postpone the consummation till her calf had been satisfied, the quantity sufficient for sacrificial purposes obtained, and the permission of the sage accorded. This is perhaps as high an ideal of self-control as may well be imagined.*

DOMESTIC MORALITY. Sexual Morality, Love.—The ultimate molecule of society is not the monad man, but the dual couple. Sexual morality, or the duties of the conjugal relation, comprise therefore the first division of Domestic Morality. The union begins in love, and of that we may be sure of having an abundant supply in the works of Kālidāsa. Indeed wiseacres have been heard to exclaim what else of morality could be expected in them. From the tender regard of *Dilīpa* for his royal spouse† to the famished looks with which the latter drinks in the countenance of her husband when returning from the forest where he tended *Nandini*‡; from the eloquent madness of *Pururavā* to the feeling delusion of the exiled *Yaksha*; from the heart-rending dirge of *Aja* for his beloved *Indumati*, which makes even the trees shed their tears of nectar,§ to the equally moving lament of *Rati* for her incinerated *Kandarpa*, which attracts the sympathy of the forest,|| there is ample room and space enough to satisfy the most fastidious ideal of conjugal love. When *Rati* laments the indelible stain which would attach to her for ever, that she had survived her Cupid even for a moment, stain that not even the self-ignited flames of a *Sati's* pyre would cleanse,¶ and when *Sitā* reproaches herself with having survived the illusion of *Rāma's* decapitated head, which the malignant ingenuity of *Rāvaṇa* had conjured up, after she had once believed it to have been true,** there is a poesy of love that would bear comparison with anything that has been written in different climes or distant ages.

* *Raghu*, I. 12—95. II. 1—66.

† *Raghu*, I. 54. II. 3.

‡ *Raghu*, II. 19.

§ *Raghu*, VIII. 44—70.

|| *Kumāra Sambhava*, IV. 4—38.

¶ *Kumāra Sambhava*, IV. 21.

** *Raghu*, XII. 74, 75.

Fidelity.—The moral value of the system of marriage, as has been justly observed, lies in the discipline to which it puts the strongest instinct in our animal nature, while at the same time satisfying it. To reap the full effects of this moral discipline, conjugal love must be not only strong but constant. *Aja* never marries after the tragic death of his beloved *Indumati*.* When the fair sister of *Rāvana* makes a delicate proposal to *Rāma*, the latter pleads as an excuse that he is married.† When the clamor of the populace compelled him to send into exile his beloved *Sītā*, he could not exile her from his heart.‡ *Rāma* is a staunch monogamist at heart, and when the ordinances of religion made it imperative, that he should have a partner by his side when performing sacrificial rites, his only companion was a golden image of the exiled *Sītā*.§ His son, *Kusa*, who trod in his footsteps, proudly assures a female apparition that had mysteriously found access to his chamber at dead of night, that the well-governed minds of *Raghu's* race have no predilection for the wives of others.||

Polygamy.—This brings us to the kindred subject of Polygamy. That this practice was prevalent among the kings and the aristocracy will not admit of dispute, and perhaps the greater fidelity to nature expected of a dramatist may account for its mention in the dramas. But it is noteworthy that it is never prominently brought forward in the poems, except in the case of the wives of *Dasaratha*. These are only three in number, and not ten thousand. The fact was one too prominent to be safely suppressed and indispensable to the plot of the story, and indeed it may be pleaded as an excuse that the tragic end of the monarch, and the exile of his eldest son, illustrate very well the evil effects of Polygamy. The greatest of our poet's heroes are either monogamists or may be taken to be so for all the purposes of his epic narrative. 'Mayest thou gain the *undivided* love of thy husband'¶ is the blessing that is pronounced over *Umā* when her bridal toilette is finished, and throughout the seven cantos of the *Kumāra Sambhava* there is no mention of the co-wifedom of *Gangā*, though that was well-known to Kālidāsa.**

Obedience.—"The natural subordination of the woman, which has reappeared under all forms of marriage"†† finds expression in the conjugal

* *Raghu.*, VIII. 92—95.

† *Raghu.*, XII. 34.

‡ *Raghu.*, XIV. 84.

§ *Raghu.*, XIV. 87. XV. 61.

|| आचक्ष सत्त्वा वशिनां रघूणां मनः परस्त्रीविमुखप्रवृत्तिः । *Raghu.* XVI. 8.

¶ अखण्डितं प्रेम लभस्व पत्युः । *Kumāra Sambhava*, VII. 28.

** *Purvamegha*, 51.

†† *Comte's Positive Philosophy*, Vol. II., p. 135.

duty of obedience, of which examples are not wanting in the poems of Kálidása. *Sudakshinā*, advanced in pregnancy, greets her lord by rising from her seat, although it cost her an effort to do so.* *Vishṇu* reclines in the Ocean of milk, on his Serpent-bed, with his feet resting on the gentle lap of *Lakshmi*.† *Menakā*, queen of the mountain-king, has no objection to give away *Umā* in marriage to *Shiva*, as devoted wives never take exception to the wishes of the husband.‡ At the nuptial rites the officiating priest solemnly preaches to *Umā* implicit obedience as the rule of married life.§ History or Romance will afford but few parallels to the resignation with which *Sitā* bore her mandate of exile. She said nothing harsh against her husband, who had cast her away for no fault of her own, but only reproached *herself*, because so much misery argued misbehaviour in a previous existence. She gladly absolves *Lakshmana* from all blame, as he has only implicitly carried into effect the mandates of his elder. A momentary doubt hangs over her mind, whether scripture or ancestral example warranted *Rāma's* desertion when the flames had testified to her purity. But she instantly recollects herself. *Rāma* is wise—and could not have done anything thoughtlessly. She is only atoning for sins committed in a previous existence. She would therefore enter on a life of penance, in order that, in the next birth, she might have *Rāma* for her husband, without the risk of cruel separation.||

Sitā could bear up with the privation and indignity of exile, when she knew that she still remained the undisputed master of *Rāma's* heart.¶ But how are we to measure the depth of *Ausinari's* feelings when convinced of the love at first sight which *Purūravá* had contracted for the nymph *Urvashī*, and sincerely repenting her harsh behaviour on that score, she makes the sacred promise to her Hero :

“ Whatever nymph attract my lord's regard,

“ And share with him the mutual bonds of love,

“ I henceforth treat with kindness and complacency.”**

To the stupid query of the jester *Mānavaka* :

“ What, then, is his majesty indifferent to your grace ?”

She replies with dignity :

“ Wise Sir, how think you ; to promote his happiness

* Ragh., III. 11.

† Ragh., X. 8.

‡ भवन्त्यभिचारिण्यो भर्तुरिष्टे पतिव्रताः । Kumāra Sambhava, VI. 86.

§ Kumāra Sambhava, VII. 83.

|| Ragh., XIV. 57—66.

¶ Ragh., XIV. 87.

** Vikramorvasi, Act III. Wilson's Hindu Theatre, Vol. I., p. 235.

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‡ अवन्त्यव्यभिचारिण्यो भर्तुरिष्टे पतिव्रताः । Kumāra Sambhava, VI. 86.

§ Kumāra Sambhava, VII. 83.

|| Raghu., XIV. 57—66.

¶ Raghu., XIV. 87.

** Vikramorvashi, Act III. Wilson's Hindu Theatre, Vol. I., p. 235.

"I have resigned my own. Does such a purpose

"Prove him no longer dear to me?"

We cannot but exclaim with *Chitralekhá* :—

"She is a lady

"Of an exalted spirit, and a wife

"Of duty most exemplary."

Parental duties.—The parental relation is a result of the sexual one. In the economy of nature, the subordination of ages is as marked as that of the sexes. The aim of sound morality is not to subvert this natural subordination, but to place it on a satisfactory footing by a well-regulated code of duties and obligations. "There is no other case, which offers, in the same degree, the most respectful spontaneous obedience, on the part of the inferior, without the least degradation; an obedience imposed by necessity first, and then by gratitude; and nowhere else do we see in the superior party the most absolute authority united to entire devotedness, too natural and too genial to be regarded as a duty."*

Kálidása had a clear conception of the intimate connection between the sexual relation and the parental. He tells us of the Royal pair, *Dilípa* and *Sudakshiní*, that when their son shared the affection which was only reciprocal before, the total amount of affection which they had for each other, instead of decreasing as the rule of thumb would require, on the contrary, increased.† Our poet recognised education and support as parental duties, when he described *Dilípa* as the true father of his people, whose education, protection and support, emanated from *him*; their so-called fathers being mere progenitors—birth-causes.‡ The princes of *Raghu's* royal race were all educated in their boyhood§ and *Raghu*, besides the intellectual training which he received at the hands of learned tutors,|| was initiated into the practice of arms by his own father.¶ The education of *Aja* precedes his marriage** and the necessity of educating and maintaining the infant *Dasaratha* compel the bereaved husband to pass eight long years ere he renounces the world.†† *Ráma* and his brothers were duly educated.‡‡ It was impossible for *Ráma* to look to the education of his sons, but the duty was well discharged by the sage *Válmiki*, in whose her-

* Comte's Positive Philosophy, Vol. II., p. 137.

† *Raghu*, III. 24.

‡ *Raghu*, I. 24.

§ *हैहवेभ्यस्तुविद्वानाम्* । *Raghu*, I. 8.

|| *Raghu*, III. 29, 30.

¶ *Raghu*, III. 31.

** *Raghu*, V. 38,—40.

†† *Raghu*, VIII. 92—94.

‡‡ *Raghu*, X. 79.

mitage the exiled *Sítá* had taken shelter, and given birth to the twins, *Kusha* and *Lava*.* *Kusha*, true to the traditions of his race, looks first to the education of his son in the royal sciences, and then to his marriage.†

Filial duties.—The children on their part are not wanting in the reverential love and grateful requital which is expected at their hands. As the state of society which Kalidasa contemplates, provided for the retreat of householders into the forest when they had passed the third stage of their life,‡ the requital is limited to cheerful obedience.

Raghu, when in the bloom of youth he exceeded his father in stature and physical strength, looked shorter on account of his meekness.§ When in his old age, the same monarch wishes to abdicate the throne in favour of his son *Aja* and retire, according to the family custom, to the contemplative shades of the primeval forest, the latter falls at his feet and passionately entreats him not to forsake his son.|| At last, a compromise is effected by the hoary monarch's consenting to spend the remaining portion of his life in a retired grove near the capital.¶ When he had breathed his last, *Aja* is assiduous in the performance of the proper obsequies, as a mark of respect for the deceased, though he knew full well that souls which had obtained final emancipation, are above the reach of such offerings.**

When the kingdom had been offered by his father to *Aja*, the kingdom which princes desire to possess even through the means of the deepest crimes, *Aja* consents to accept it, not through any lust for dominion, but out of a deep sense of the obedience due to a father's commands,†† and to this the modest refusal of *Ayush* in the fifth act of the *Vikramorvashi* furnishes a parallel. When the infants *Ráma* and *Lakshmaṇa* are directed by *Dasaratha* to accompany the sage *Vishvámitra* for the purpose of encountering the ferocious monsters who interfered with the celebration of Vedic rites, they have no excuse to make, no delay to solicit, but are instantly ready to start.‡‡ The cheerfulness with which *Ráma* obeyed the mandate of his father to resign the throne and wander forth an exile for fourteen years in the pathless wilds of *Dandaká*,§§ is too well known to require any detailed description. The filial obedience of *Parashuráma* we leave casuists to analyse and explain.||||

* *Raghu*, XV. 13, 32, 33.

† *Raghu*, XVII. 3.

‡ *Raghu*, VIII. 11.

§ *Raghu*, III. 34.

|| *Raghu*, VIII. 12.

¶ *Raghu*, VIII. 13, 14.

** *Raghu*, VIII. 25, 26.

†† *Raghu*, VIII. 2.

‡‡ *Raghu*, XI. 1—4.

§§ *Raghu*, XII. 7—9.

|||| *Raghu*, XI. 65.

Sustain the honor of your lineage and be still obedient to thy sire are the exhortations which *Purúravá* and *Urvashí* respectively address to their son.*

Fraternal duties.—We may here properly enter into the consideration of the fraternal relation. It has been aptly remarked that brotherly love is the best preparation for society. The sons of *Dasaratha* never quarrelled among themselves, even in their infancy.† The devotedness of *Lakshmana* who voluntarily followed *Ráma* into exile,‡ and at last laid down his life for the sake of his brother§ will not easily find a parallel in the whole history of literature. *Bharata's* behaviour, too, in strenuously declining the throne, stands out in bright contrast to the treachery of *Kaikéyí*. He can only be persuaded to guard the throne as the humble servant of his elder brother, and would even then insist on having a visible emblem of *Ráma* in the shape of a pair of slippers which had been hallowed by contact with his feet.|| The faithful manner in which he preserves his trust, and the cheerfulness with which he makes over the kingdom to *Ráma*, furnish as high an ideal of integrity as may well be desired.¶ The records of *Raghu's* royal race do not furnish a single instance of fratricidal struggle such as that which raged over the sick-bed of Sháh Jahán or the grave of Aurungzib. The healthy feeling which existed between *Ráma* and his brothers, has already been indicated. Their sons inherited this virtue. *Kusha* is peacefully installed by his brother and nephews, as he was their elder both by birth and superior qualities: brotherly feeling was their family trait.**

Master and Servant.—We now come to the last division of domestic morals, namely, the duties of master and servant. Slavery was the earliest form of this relation, and though inevitable, nay a decided improvement on the war of extermination which preceded it, had a baneful influence on the whole fabric of domestic morality. Slavery, though incidentally mentioned in the works†† of Kálidása, never enters into the composition of any of his pictures. He was also perfectly cognisant of the salient points of the relation of servant and master, namely, cheerful obedience on the part of the one and kind recompense on the part of the other. The dialogue between *Kandarpa* and *Indra* in the *Kumára Sambhava*,‡‡ which is too long for quotation, strikes this key-note. The devotedness of *Dilípa*, too, who was for the

* Vikramorvasi, Act V. Wilson's Hindu Theatre, Vol. I., p. 270.

† Raghu., X. 80.

‡ Raghu., XII. 9.

§ Raghu., XV. 92—95.

|| Raghu., XII. 12—19.

¶ Raghu., XIII. 64—67.

** Raghu., XVI. 1.

†† Kumára Sambhava, V. 86.

‡‡ III. 2—22.

nonce playing the part of a servant of *Vasishthā* in charge of his precious cattle, the details of which have been already given, is decidedly exemplary. The Hindu Cupid when summoned for his fatal mission by *Indra*, was painting the feet of his Venus, but such is his promptitude to obey the call, that he leaves one foot unpainted.* *Urvashī*, when about to cultivate the acquaintance of her loved and loving deliverer, is summoned to assist at a dramatic entertainment at *Indra's* court, and though it cost her an effort, promptly obeys.†

SOCIAL MORALITY.—From the home we pass by a natural transition to society. Social virtues may be classified under Justice and Benevolence. In domestic morals the two are blended or at least ought to be, into one harmonious whole.

Justice, Candor.—Justice in our thoughts, or candor, is the ornament of all of Kálidása's heroes. There is not a single instance in his works of malicious equivocation. The illusions which *Nandini*‡ and *Shiva*§ practise on *Dilīpa* and *Párvatī* respectively, are benevolent in their conception, and end in agreeable surprise. It would be manifestly unfair to drag into this comparison the dramatic character of the *Vidúshaka*, which is professedly a caricature of human frailty. The equivocation of *Purúravá* with *Ausínarī*|| is the most decent course that could be adopted under the circumstances.

Veracity.—Of veracity in its widest sense, or Justice in words, Kálidása was a great admirer. He makes the princes of *Raghu's* race reticent out of their determination not to speak anything but the truth.¶ Of *Dasaratha* we are told that, like Epaminondas, he never spoke an untruth even in jest,** and of *Atithi* we are informed that what passed his lips was never untrue.†† *Dasaratha's* sincerity must always challenge our admiration, when he kept his word at the expense of his happiness and his life.‡‡

Gratitude.—*Priyamvada* is anxious to requite his unconscious liberator *Aja*,§§ and his feeling that without a proper requital, his restoration to celestial rank was vain, finds an echo in the text which *Mallinátha* quotes to the purport that one unable to requite his benefactor had better be dead.|||| The *Meghaduta* contains the poet's confession of faith on the subject :

* Kumára Sambhava, IV. 19.

† Vikramorvashi, Act II. Wilson's Hindu Theatre, Vol. I., p. 221.

‡ Vide ante.

§ Kumára Sambhava, V. 84.

|| Vikramorvashi, Acts II. III. Wilson's Hindu Theatre, Vol. I., pp. 223, 233—235.

¶ सत्याय मितभाषिणाम् । Raghu., I. 7.

** न वितथा परिहासकथास्त्रिपि । Raghu., IX. 8.

†† यदुवाच न तन्मित्र्या । Raghu., XVII. 42.

‡‡ Raghu., XII. 10.

§§ Raghu., V. 46.

|||| प्रतिकर्तुमशक्तस्य जीवितान्नरणं वरम् । Mallinátha on Raghu., V. 46.

“Even a low man, when his friend comes to him for assistance, will not turn away his face, in consideration of former kindness.”*

“The Hindus,” remarks Wilson, “have been the object of much idle panegyric and equally idle detraction. Some writers have invested them with every amiable attribute, and they have been deprived by others of the common virtues of humanity. Amongst the excellencies denied to them, gratitude has always been particularized; and there are many of the European residents in India who scarcely imagine that the natives of the country ever heard of such a sentiment. To them, and to all detractors on this head, the above verse is a satisfactory reply.”† Kálidása extended the duty of gratitude even to benefactors amongst the brute creation.‡

Benevolence. Civility.—Kálidása’s characters never lack in civility or benevolence in our conversation and manners. *Dilípa* and his queen are honorably received at their preceptor’s hermitage.§ *Dasaratha*, we are told, never used a harsh word even to his bitterest foes.|| *Ráma*, when finally bidding adieu to the chiefs of apes and demons who had attended at his coronation, offers them parting offerings through the hands of the Queen in whose rescue they had been instrumental.¶ The anxious frenzy of the exiled *Yacsha* which leads him to address the inanimate cloud as a messenger to convey tidings to his faithful spouse, does not make him omit the formalities of civil reception.** The prefatory civilities†† which the disguised *Shiva* utters to *Párvatí*, and the liberal professions with which the Mountain-king receives the seven sages,‡‡ would bear comparison with the Persian or Chinese code of politeness.

Of active kindness and liberality, we have an instance in *Raghu*, who instituted the *Vishwajit* sacrifice, and at its end gave away all he possessed.§§ The generous struggle between the same king and *Kautsa*, the former bent on giving more than the latter had wanted, and the latter declining to take anything above what he urgently required,||| furnishes another notable instance of liberality. *Atithi* never revoked his gifts.¶¶ The kings of

* न क्षुद्रोऽपि प्रथमसुकृतापेक्षया संशयाय प्राप्ते मित्ते भवति विमुखः किं पुनर्यत्नयोच्चैः ॥
Purvamegha, 17.

† Wilson’s Works, Vol. IV., p. 330.

‡ *Raghu*, IX. 65.

§ *Raghu*, I. 55.

|| *Raghu*, IX. 8.

¶ *Raghu*, XIV. 19.

** *Purvamegha*, 4.

†† Kumára Sambhava, V. 33—40.

‡‡ Kumára Sambhava, VI. 50—63.

§§ *Raghu*, IV. 86. V. 1.

||| *Raghu*, V. 31.

¶¶ यद्देव न जह्वात् तत् । *Raghu*, XVII. 42.

Raghu's race never disappointed an expectant even at the cost of life itself.*

Hospitality.—Hospitality is not a rare virtue in the works of Kálidása. *Dilipa* and his attendants are first hospitably received, and it is not until they have recovered from the fatigues of the journey† that any questions are asked. *Raghu*,‡ too, practises the same behaviour towards *Kautsa*. *Bhoja's* hospitality to *Aja* was such that, when they entered the capital, the host looked as guest and the guest as master of the household.§ We are told in the *Kumára Sambhava*|| that great men take even inferior refugees under their special protection.

Friendship.—Friendship is placed by the poet on the widest basis.¶ The most casual occurrence may lay its foundation. The attachment of the celestial nymphs to *Urvashí* is full of affection and sympathy.

POLITICO-MILITARY MORALITY. Conquest. Chivalry.—Kálidása's military morality comprised conquest for its own sake. His conquerors are always satisfied with formal submission and their greatest glory is to reinstate fallen foes.** His warriors have chivalry enough to restrain them from taking undue advantage of an opponent's weakness.†† The sage councillors of *Raghu* laid before him plans both honest and dishonest, for the encompassing of his ends, but he disdained to take advantage of the latter, and relied on honesty as the best policy.‡‡ *Atithi's* martial policy was guided by the same principles.§§ Kálidása appreciated the intimate correlation which exists between prudence and valor. Valor without prudence, he justly remarks, is but animal ferocity, and prudence without valor, is but another name for cowardice.|||

Kingly virtues.—Kálidása could rise to just conceptions of political morality. His kings are mild taxers and take but to expend on proper objects.¶¶ They are no respecters of persons, but impartial dealers out of rewards and punishments.*** They never abused the rigor of the law for private purposes, and presided personally over the administration of justice.††† They are as affectionate fathers to their subjects.‡‡‡ A *Rájá* does

* *Raghu.*, X. 2.

† *Raghu.*, I. 58.

‡ *Raghu.*, V. 2, 3.

§ *Raghu.*, V. 62.

|| I. 12.

¶ *Kumára Sambhava*, V. 39; *Raghu*. II. 58.

** *Raghu.*, IV. 35, 37, 43, 64. VIII. 9. IX. 14. XI. 89. XVI. 80. XVII. 42.

†† *Raghu.*, VII. 47.

‡‡ *Raghu.*, IV. 10.

§§ *Raghu.*, XVII. 69.

||| *Raghu.*, XVII. 47.

¶¶ *Raghu.*, I. 18, 26. VIII. 7.

*** *Raghu.*, I. 6, 25. IV. 8. IX. 6.

††† *Raghu.*, VIII. 18.

‡‡‡ *Raghu.*, I. 24. II. 48.

not deserve the name if he be not—प्रदतिरञ्जन,—gladdener of his subjects.* To his being void of avarice the people owed their wealth; to his protection they were indebted for whatever deeds of virtue they performed in peaceful leisure; the king was their father in being their instructor and guide, the king was their son inasmuch as he was the wiper of their woes.†

Self-abnegation.—The kings of Kálidása had sufficient moral convictions to subordinate their personal happiness to the general weal. This self-abnegation is held up by the poet in the most prominent light. *Dilīpa*, we are told, loved a good man, though an enemy, and discarded a favourite, when he took to evil ways, with the merciless promptitude which one must shew in excising a snake-bitten finger.‡ They had a high idea of their mission as redressers of wrong, and were ready to carry it out even at the risk of their throne and life. So equitable is the behaviour of the model king that every one thinks himself the greatest favourite.§ *Aja* is restrained from following his beloved queen on the path of flame, not by reason of any fondness for life, but from a sense of what is due to his position as a king.|| In the characteristic phraseology of the poet, kings are wedded to the earth.¶ Their personal pleasures never encroached on their public functions.**

Loyalty.—This healthy feeling was reciprocated on the part of the people. They took a personal interest in their sovereign. They participated in his good fortunes and sympathised with his losses.††

ALTRUISM.—The key-stone of morals — Live for others — did not escape the penetration of Kálidása. We may quote his own words :

बलमार्तभयोपशान्तये
विदुषां सत्कृतये बद्धं श्रुतम् ।
वसु तस्य विभोर्न केवलं
गुणवत्तापि परप्रयोजना ॥††

Power, to remove the fears of the afflicted; great learning, for the cordial reception of the learned; not only the wealth, but even the good qualities of that King (*Aja*), were for the benefit of others.

* Raghu., IV. 12. VI. 21.

† Raghu., XIV. 23.

‡ Raghu., I. 28.

§ Raghu., VIII. 8.

|| Raghu., VIII. 72.

¶ वसुमत्या हि वृषाः कलविणः । Raghu., VIII. 83.

** Raghu., VIII. 32. XIV. 24.

†† Raghu., II. 73, 74. VIII. 74.

‡‡ Raghu., VIII. 31.

*An Imperial Assemblage at Delhi three thousand years ago.—**By RÁJENDRALÁLA MITRA, LL. D.*

The Imperial Assemblage to be held at Delhi on the 1st of next month cannot fail to recall to the mind of oriental scholars the description, given in the Mahábhárata, of a similar gathering held there upwards of three thousand years ago. Then, as now, the object was the assumption of paramount power by a mighty sovereign. Then, as now, princes and potentates came from all parts of India to do homage to one who was greatly their superior in power, wealth, and earnest devotion to rule honestly and paternally. Then, as now, the feeling of allegiance was all but universal. But noteworthy as these points of similitude are, there are others which place the two assemblages in marked contrast. The one was held by men who had barely emerged from a state of primitive simplicity in the infancy of human society; the other is to be inaugurated under all the refinements and paraphernalia of the highest civilization. The one borrowed all its sanctity from religion; the other depends for its glory on political and material greatness. The one was purely national; the other brings into the field a dominant foreign power. There are other points, equally remarkable, both of similitude and of divergence, which afford singular illustrations of the state of political ideas at immensely remote periods; and a short account of the ancient ceremonial may not, therefore, be uninteresting at the present time.

The ceremony, in ancient times, was called the *Rájasúya*, or that which can be effected only by a king—from *Rájan* 'a king' and *shu* 'to be effected'. This derivation, however, is not universally accepted. Some interpret the term to mean the ceremony at which the *Soma* juice is produced, from *rájá* 'moon' for the moon-plant, and *su* 'to bring forth'; but as there are a hundred different rites at which the brewing of the *Soma* beer is an essential requirement, while it is distinctly laid down, that none but a king who can command the allegiance of a large number of tributary princes, and who is, or wishes to be,* a universal monarch, exercising supremacy over a large number of princes, should perform it, the first derivation appears to be the right one,—at least it conveys an idea of the true character of the ceremony, which the other does not. Yájñika-deva, in his commentary on the Śrauta Sūtra of Kátyáyana, explains the word *rájá* in the first aphorism on the subject, to mean a Kshatriya,† without specifying that he should be a king, and this may at first sight suggest the idea that any Kshatriya,

* राजा खाराज्यकामो राजसूयेन यजेत । Taittiriya Bráhmaṇa.

† राज्ञ राजसूयः ॥ १ ॥ स चायं राजशब्दः चन्द्रियजातिनिमित्तः ।

whether a sovereign or not, may perform it ; but the context shows clearly that a king was a *sine qua non*, and none but a king could undertake the rite. According to the Śástras, none but a Kshatriya was fit for royalty, and the use of the word *rájan* both for a king and a man of the Kshatriya caste was so common, that in interpreting it, in particular passages the context is always looked upon as the safest guide to its true meaning. If we assume, however, that Kátyáyana wished only to indicate the caste of the performer, with a view to exclude the other castes, without caring to point out his political position, the interpretation of the scholiast would be open to no exception.

From its very nature a ceremony like the Rájasúya could not be common anywhere, or at any time, much less during the Hindu period, when India was never held by a single monarch. It was then divided into many kingdoms, principalities and chiefships, each enjoying perfect autonomy, and entertaining more or less jealousy, not unoften amounting to hostility, or even violent animosity, against each other, and a universal sovereignty like that of the autocrat of Russia was perfectly impossible. The language of praise or flattery has doubtless often declared particular sovereigns to have been *Chakravartins* or emperors ; but the reality, as regards the whole of India, was never accomplished. It is unquestionable that in rare instances, such as those of Chandragupta and Ásoka, many sovereigns acknowledged subordination to some mighty monarch or other, and the weaker ones paid tribute, but their autonomy was rarely sacrificed, and their alliances generally bore the character of confederacies, or federal union, and not that of feudal baronies subject to a ruling chief, and under no circumstances were servile duties, such as under the feudal system the Barons in Europe were obliged to render their suzerains, ever exacted from the tributaries. The bond between them was, besides, of the feeblest kind, and snapt at every favourable opportunity. In the Vedic period even such monarchic federations on a very large scale were any thing but common, and the rite of *Mahábbhisheka*, or imperial baptism, which follows the Rájasúya, was administered to only a few. The Aitareya Bráhmaṇa of the Rig Veda affords a curious illustration of this fact. After describing the ritual of the Mahábbhisheka, with a view to point out its high importance, the author of that work gives a list of the persons who had been inaugurated by that rite, and of the priests who officiated thereat, and it includes only ten names.* The list does not, it is

* The list includes the following names : 1. Janamejaya, son of Parikshit, inaugurated by Taru, son of Kavasha. 2. Sárýáta, son of Manu, anointed by Chyavana, son of Bhriḡu. 3. Somaśushmá, son of Vájaratna, by Satánika, son of Satrujit. 4. Ambashtya, by Parvata and Nárada. 5. Yudhámśraushṭi, son of Ugrasena, by Parvata and Nárada. 6. Visvakarmá, son of Bhuvana, by Kásyapa. 7. Sudás, son of Puja-

true, profess to be exhaustive ; but the necessity felt for such a list and its meagreness suffice to show, that the rite was but rarely performed, and even the knowledge of its ritual among the priesthood was not common. The Rāmāyaṇa describes the rite as celebrated by Rāmachandra, but there is no description of it in any later work ; and no manual for its performance has yet been met with.

The description of the Rājasūya in the Mahābhārata is a popular poetical one, loaded with much that is mythical, and a considerable amount of exaggeration ; but it is the best known all over India, and comprises the fullest account of its exoteric characteristics. Yudhishthira, the hero of it, lived, according to Hindu chronology, in the last century of the third cycle or the Tretā Yuga, *i. e.* five thousand one hundred and fifty years ago ; but recent researches of oriental scholars are fatal to his claim to so remote an antiquity. A careful study of the lists of ancient kings given in the Purāṇas, allowing an average reign of sixteen years to each king, would bring him to the twentieth century before the Christian era. But even this is not tenable. On the other hand the existence, in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, of the name of Janamejaya, son of Parikshit, who is evidently the same with the sovereign named in the Mahābhārata, and the grandson of Arjuna brother of Yudhishthira, would force the inference that he lived long before that portion of the Rig Veda came into existence ; and the lowest estimate possible appears to be somewhat over twelve centuries before the era of Christ.

Yudhishthira and his four brothers lost their father Pāṇḍu,* king of Hastināpura, at an early age ; and during their minority the management of their paternal state fell into the hands of their uncle Dhritarāshṭra, under whose guardianship they were brought up. Dhritarāshṭra was senior to Pāṇḍu, and would have, under ordinary circumstances, inherited the principality of Hastināpura. But as he was born blind, his claims were set aside, according to Hindu law, in favour of his younger brother. The principality having, however, come to his hands during the minority of his nephews, court intrigue was brought into play, when the youths came of age, to prevent their coming into possession of even a portion of their patrimony. The sons of Dhritarāshṭra were most inimical to them, and domestic dissensions were frequent and serious. To prevent these unseemly disputes, the

vana, by Vaśishṭha. 8. Marutta, son of Avikshit, by Samvarta, son of Aṅgiras. 9. Aṅga *alias* Alopāṅga by Udamaya, son of Atri. 10. Bharata, son of Dushyanta, by Dīrghatamas, the son of an unmarried woman.

* The word means "pale yellow" and is ordinarily used to indicate jaundice. Mr. Wheeler opines that it is a euphemism for white leprosy, but there is nothing to justify the theory. Kuntī is said to have selected him from out of a whole host of princes at a grand sayañvara ; and no damsel is ever likely to select a leper for her consort.

Pándava brothers were sent away to Váranávrata, modern Alláhábád, where, it was thought, they would be beyond the reach of their intriguing cousins. But those who interested themselves in the welfare of the Pándavas were doomed to disappointment. The palace, which the five brothers and their mother occupied at Váranávrata, was, one night, set on fire, and they had to fly for life, and, for some time after, to keep themselves secreted in jungle and unfrequented places, or roam about as beggars. At last they effected an alliance with the powerful king Drupada of Panchála (modern Kanauj), whose daughter they married at a Sayañvara, and through his influence and that of their cousin-german Kṛishṇa, obtained a small tract of land for their share with the town of Indraprastha for their capital. Here they established themselves, and laid the foundation of what afterwards became a mighty empire.

Close by Indraprastha, there happened to be a large forest,* which the Pándavas burnt down and cleared, and by dint of perseverance, and gradual encroachment on the possessions of their less energetic neighbours, raised their little tract of land to the rank and position of a respectable principality. Alliances with some of the aboriginal races also helped them to rise in power; and the extension of their possessions towards the west and the south-west, where they met with little opposition, soon enabled them to assume a high position among the crowned heads of India. A magnificent palace, called a *Sabhá* or 'audience chamber', was next built in the capital, and it proved to be the finest work of art that had ever been produced in this country. A Titan (Dánava) was its architect, and it was enriched with the most

* The existence of this forest has suggested to Mr. Wheeler the idea of Delhi, or the country about it, having been an outpost of the Aryans in India at the time of the Pándavas, and the whole of his criticisms on the Mahábhárata is based upon this major. That there were many forests in the country three thousand years ago, is a truism which none can venture to question, but there is no valid reason to suppose that the Khandava forest was the *ultima thule* of the Aryans at the time in question. The line of argument which has brought the learned author to this conclusion, could be appealed to with great effect, to show that the jungle of Chataurá near Jagadispur in which the mutineers under Kumar Singh, found a shelter, was the outpost of the English ráj in 1858. To save his position, the author has been obliged to denounce the whole of the geography of the Mahábhárata as after thoughts. The poet says that Bhishma got into his chariot, went to Káśí, and brought the three daughters of the king of that place, as brides for his younger brother, and the critic exclaims, "Káśí is 500 miles from Hastinápura," and as no one could make the journey so easily and without attendants, the place meant must be a village in the neighbourhood of Hastinápura; as if it was absolutely necessary for a poet to give in detail the number of the attendants, the places where they halted, and the stages they travelled over. Chand, in the 12th century, with nearly as much laconic brevity, makes his hero Prithviráj travel to Kanauj from Delhi on a like mission, and it was crowned with equal success. It is not likely that any historian will question the truth of the elopement of the Princess of Kanauj.

precious materials that could be collected from the different parts of India, including some highly-prized stones from the Himālaya. Its description refers to flowers of crystal, partitions of glass, and marbles of all colours ; to spacious and lofty apartments, and doors and windows, terraces and gardens, artificial lakes and fountains. Much of this is doubtless due to the poet's imagination ; but there was nevertheless enough to make the owner proud of its possession, and to long to show it to his rivals. To inaugurate it by a grand festival was the first idea that occurred to his mind, and that suggested the ambitious scheme of celebrating the politico-religious sacrifice of the Rājasūya, and raising the principality to the rank of an empire.

This was, however, not an easy task to accomplish. Close by, to the north, there was Hastināpura, the capital of their ancestors, in the possession of their inveterate enemies the Kurus. To the east, Mathurā was held by a powerful sovereign. To the south, the king of Mālava was a standing menace, and to the west there was the principality of Virāṭa,* which would not in a hurry yield to its neighbours. There were besides other mighty sovereigns in different parts of India, who were proud of their high position, and not at all disposed to succumb to what to them was a new-born and petty Rāj.

The most powerful king at the time, however, was Jarāsandha, sovereign of Magadha. He had carried his victorious arms as far as Mathurā, and expelled therefrom the Yādavas, who had wrested it from a relative of his. His army was the largest and best-trained ; and he had already imprisoned ninety-seven princes with a view, when the number came up to a hundred and twelve, to offer them as a sacrifice to the gods, by way of a preliminary to his raising the white umbrella of imperial sovereignty. For the Pāṇḍavas to wage war against him, with any hope of success, was out of the question, and no one in India could proclaim himself an emperor without bringing on a most desolating retribution from that monarch.

To remove Jarāsandha from the field by other than open warfare was, therefore, the first scheme to which the Pāṇḍavas set their head, and assassination was resolved upon as the only means feasible. Disguised as Brāhmaṇas, Bhīma, Arjuna, and Kṛishṇa set out for Magadha, and, entering the palace by a back door, took him unawares, while he was engaged in his prayers, and killed him. The Mahābhārata gives a long account of the interview, and says, he was challenged to a single combat, and fell under the blows of Bhīma, the "wolf-stomached" hero. But this appears to be a euphemism for assassination, inasmuch as the Pāṇḍavas were ever after

* The modern Bengal districts of Rangpur and Dinājpur to the north claim to be the ancient Virāṭa, but the cattle-lifting foray of the Kurus in the country of Virāṭa, described in the Virāṭa Parva of the Mahābhārata, leaves no doubt as to the true position of that country having been as given above.

accused of baseness for it, and no baseness could be predicated of a hero who challenged another to a single combat. However that may have been, it enabled the Pándavas to liberate the imprisoned chieftains, and, not only at once to secure to themselves their loyal adherence, but also to obtain a great accession of power and influence in different parts of India.

Four grand military expeditions were next organised, one to proceed to each quarter of India. Arjuna assumed the command of the army of the North, and, proceeding on, successively conquered, or otherwise brought into subjugation, the Kulindas, the Kálakúṭas, the Avarthas and the Sákala-dvīpis. Thence he proceeded to Prágjyotisha, where he had to wage a protracted war against Bhagadatta, its king, who was ultimately obliged to purchase peace by the payment of a handsome tribute. Ascending the Himálaya, he encountered many petty chieftains, including those of Uluka, Modápura, Vainadeva, Sudáman, Susankula, North Uluka, Devaprastha and other places, —mostly robber chiefs,—as also the Kirátas and the Chínas. Turning then towards the west, he pushed on his victorious army through Káshmir to Balkh, burning and sacking several large towns in the way. Then turning back, he passed through Kámboja, Darada, and Uttara-rishika from all which places he obtained highly-prized horses as tribute, and arrived at the foot of Dhavalagiri, where he rested for awhile. Then he crossed the Himálaya and encountered the sovereigns of Kimpilla-varsha and Hálaka, the last in the neighbourhood of the Mánasarovara Lake; and lastly approached the confines of Uttara-kuru, which was inhabited by Gandharvas, the fabled choristers of Indra's heaven. Here he was met by ambassadors, who purchased peace for their sovereign by a present of some rich stuffs, jewels, valuable furs, and silken dresses.

The second expedition was headed by Bhíma, who proceeded to the east, taking in the way the country of his father-in-law Drupada in the Doab of the Ganges and Yamuná. Then crossing the Ganges he went southwards to Dasárṇa, and, taking the Pulindas in the way, arrived at Chedi, the country of Sisupála, who, being related to the Pándavas, readily acknowledged subordination, and paid a handsome tribute. Bhíma tarried at this place for a month, and then marched on successively to Kośala, Ayodhyá, Uttara Kośala, Mulla, and the Terai, whence descending down he conquered the king of Káśí. His next encounter was with the Matsyas, then successively with the Maladas, Madadháras, the Batsabhumians, the Bhangas, the Santakas and Barmakas, and several Kiráta and other races, which he conquered, and, making an alliance with the king of Mithilá (Videha), came down to Magadha to collect tribute, having on a former occasion destroyed its valiant king Jarásandha. The son of Jarásandha joined his army along with several minor chiefs, and with them he proceeded to the country of his half brother Karṇa, (Bhágapur) who was

always inimical to the Pándavas, and waged a protracted war in defence of his rights. But his efforts were of no avail, and he was ultimately made to negotiate for peace by the payment of a heavy indemnity. Bengal and its numerous petty chiefs next attracted the attention of Bhíma, and they were all overpowered and obliged to enrich the conqueror with large contributions of gold, silver, jewels, sandal-wood, agallochum, wool, and rich stuffs.

The army of the South, under Sahadeva, first overpowered the king of Mathurá, and then, proceeding through the northern parts of country now owned by Sindhia, in which it encountered and subjugated many hostile chiefs, came to the country of Kuntíbhaja. This aged monarch was the foster-father of Kuntí, the mother of the three elder Pándavas; he welcomed the general with every mark of consideration, and readily entered into the scheme of his eldest grandson to assume the imperial title. He gave much wealth and valuable assistance in pushing on the expedition with success. Crossing the Chambal, Sahadeva came face to face with the heir of Jambhaka, an old enemy of Kṛishṇa. What the name of the prince was or of his country, is not given, but the prince was powerful and fought with great courage. He was, however, ultimately overpowered, and made to render homage and to pay an indemnity. The Narmaddá was next crossed, and Sahadeva, in his victorious march, successively made a lot of petty princes to acknowledge his supremacy, until he reached the Pandyan kingdom which held him at bay for a time. Kishkindá proved even more troublesome, and a treaty of amity and friendship was all that could be extorted from it. Beyond Kishkindá was the country of Mahisamati (probably Mysore) which was owned by a chief of great valour, who was especially favoured by the god Agni, who had seduced a daughter of the king, and afterwards married her, and promised protection to his father-in-law. Sahadeva and his army were no match for this mighty chief, and Agni so befriended his protégé by raining fire on every side that the assailants were well nigh overpowered. At this juncture Sahadeva sought the protection of Agni, and through his intervention effected a treaty of peace and friendship. The story of Agni affords an instance of the use of fire-arms in ancient times, and also a hint about the Nair custom of women not living under the protection of their husbands, but of cavaliers of their own choice; for in order to wipe off the stigma on the character of the princess, Agni, says the story, had ordained that women in Mahisamati should ever after lead a wanton life in public (*Aváranīyá*) independently of their husbands.

Proceeding further south from Mahisamati, Sahadeva subjugated several petty chiefs, as also several one-eyed, one-legged, or otherwise deformed races, described in the orthodox style of traveller's stories, and thence, through ambassadors, secured the allegiance of Dravida, Sarabhipattanam,

Támra island, Timiñgila, or the country of the whale, Kaliñga, Andhra, Udra, Kerala, Tálavana, Ceylon, and other places. On his way home, he passed along the western coast through Surat to Guzerat where he met Kṛishṇa and the other Yádava chiefs, and finally returned home, loaded with immense wealth and many valuable presents.

Nakula, at the head of the army of the West, first went to Rohitaka ; thence towards southern Rájputáná to Mahettha, Sivi, Trigarta, Ambashṭha, Málava, Panchakarphaṭas, Mádhyamaka, Vátadhána ; and, then retracing his steps to Pushkara, and next the Abhira country on the banks of the Sarasvatí, he marched on to the Panjáb, to the western frontier of which he encountered the Pahnavas, Varvaras, Kirátas, Yavanas, and the Śakas, from all of whom he obtained valuable presents, and acknowledgment of allegiance.

In making the above abstract of the progress of the different armies, I have omitted several names of places and persons, and also used words to indicate directions which do not always occur in the original. The routes, as laid down in the Mahábhárata, are not always such as an invading army would, or conveniently could, take in its progress from Indraprastha, and many reasons suggest themselves to show that the poet was not quite familiar with the places he describes. Some of the discrepancies, however, may be due to my inability to identify the several places named, and to the possibility of there having existed more than one place of the same name, one of which is known to me, and the other not. Several districts in northern and eastern Bengal now claim to be the same with places named in the Mahábhárata, but which probably have no right to the pretension. In a few cases, there are two or three claimants for the same ancient name. As it is, however, not my intention here to enter into a critical analysis, but simply to quote the substance of what has been said, in connexion with the Rájásúya, in the Mahábhárata, by way of introduction to the rituals of the sacrifice as given in the Vedas, I need say nothing further on the subject. Those who are curious about the places named, and about the articles alleged to have been presented as tribute, which, to a certain extent, help the identification of those places, will find much interesting matter in the late Professor Lassen's learned essay on the Geography of the Mahábhárata, in the Göttingen Oriental Journal, and in Professor Wilson's paper on the Sabhá-parva in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

On the return of the different expeditionary armies, a consultation was held as to the propriety of immediately commencing the ceremony, or deferring it to a future occasion. Kṛishṇa advised immediate action, and agreed to take upon himself the task of arranging everything for a successful issue. It was accordingly resolved that the ceremony should at once begin. Orders were thereupon issued to collect all the articles necessary for the rite ; invitations were sent out to all relatives, friends, allies and tributaries, the

messengers being instructed to request the attendance of Vaiśyas and “all respectable Sūdras”; Nakula was deputed to the old king Dhritarāshṭra, the head of the family, to invite him and other Kaurava chiefs to grace the assembly by their presence; and ample provision was made for the accommodation and entertainment of the expected guests. The Brāhmaṇs were expected to come in from all parts of the country, and every one was to be received with due honour, and to be rewarded with rich presents. The invitations to the Vaiśyas and the Sūdras, the agricultural and the servile classes, at a religious ceremony, and the use of the epithet *mānya* “respectable” or “venerable” as a predicate for individuals of the class originally formed of helots, are worthy of special note. “This is”, says Professor Wilson, “one of the numerous indications which the Mahābhārata offers of a state of public feeling and possibly of civil institutions which seems to have preceded even the laws of Manu.”*

The most important business in connexion with the sacrifice was the appointment of duly qualified priests, and the most renowned sages of the time were solicited to take parts in the grand ceremonial. Kṛishṇa-dvāipāyana Vyāsa, the natural father of both the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas, who was renowned for his thorough knowledge of the Vedas which he had arranged and classified, himself took the part of Brahmā or high priest. Susāmā of the Dhananjaya clan was appointed the chief of Sāma singers. Yājñavalkya, the great lawgiver, was installed as Adhvaryu or the chief of the Yajur Vedic priests. Paila, son of Kasu, and Dhaumya, the family priest of Yudhisṭhira, undertook the duty of pouring out the oblations on the sacred fire (*hotā*); while a host of their pupils and others were employed to act as assistants and assessors to watch the proceedings and correct mistakes (*sadasya*).

“In due course and at the proper time, Yudhisṭhira was initiated into the ceremony by the assembled priests, and thus initiated and attended by his brothers and surrounded by thousands of Brāhmaṇs, relatives, friends, officers of State, and princes from different countries, he, resplendent as the incarnation of Dharma, entered the Sacrificial Hall. Learned Brāhmaṇs, versed in the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas, flocked from all parts of the country. Architects had, under the king's orders, erected suitable abodes for them, and those abodes had beautiful awnings on the top, and were replete with furniture and articles of food and drink fit for all seasons of the year. Receiving the welcome of the king, the Brāhmaṇs dwelt therein, and passed

* Journal, Rl. As. Soc. VII. 138. In Mr. Wheeler's version the epithets *sarvān mānyān* “all respectable” are placed against both the Vaiśyas and the Sūdras, but the construction of the sentence requires that they should apply to the Sūdras only, showing that the three twice-born classes were all welcome, whereas of the unregenerate Sūdras, the “respectable” alone were admissible.

their time in entertaining conversation, in witnessing charming dances, and in listening to sweet music. The hum of Bráhmaṇs, full to satiety, fond of stories, and jubilant with delight, resounded every where. "Give away, and eat away" were the words which burst forth from every side. The virtuous king provided for each of his guests thousands of cows, bedding, gold, and damsels. Thus did the ceremony progress of the unrivalled and virtuous sovereign of the earth, the great Páṇḍava, who was like unto Indra, the lord of the immortals."* The provision of damsels for the service of Bráhmaṇ guests, reveals a curious feature in the manners, customs, and morality of the time under notice.

The list of crowned heads which assembled at the ceremony is a long one, but as it includes mostly the names of those who were subjugated by the brothers of Yudhishtíra, and of the friends and relatives of the host, it is not necessary to reproduce it here. The leading chiefs of the Kaurava and the Yádava tribes were the most prominent among the guests. "To the guests were assigned dwellings replete with refreshments of every kind, and having by them charming lakes, and ranges of ornamental plants. The son of Dharma welcomed them in due form. After the reception, the princes repaired to the several houses assigned for their accommodation. Those houses were lofty as the peaks of the Kailása mountain, most charming in appearance, and provided with excellent furniture. They were surrounded by well-built high walls of a white colour. The windows were protected by golden lattices, and decorated with a profusion of jewelry. The stairs were easy of ascent; the rooms were furnished with commodious seats and clothing and garlands; and the whole was redolent with the perfume of the finest agallochum. The houses were white as the goose, bright as the moon, and looked picturesque even from a distance of four miles. They were free from obstructions, provided with doors of uniform height, but of various quality, and inlaid with numerous metal ornaments, even as the peak of the Himálaya. The princes were refreshed by the very sight of the mansions."†

With a view to prevent disorder, and to enforce discipline and the due despatch of business, Yudhishtíra so arranged that each department of the ceremony should be placed under one of his principal relatives, or of a friend. To see to the proper distribution of food was the task assigned to Duhsásana, brother of Duryodhana. To Ásvathámá, "a warrior Brahman of saintly descent," was assigned the duty of attending to the reception and entertainment of Bráhmaṇs, and to Sanjaya the same duty with reference to the regal and military guests. The venerable old chief Bhíshma and the equally venerable chief Droṇa were solicited to act as superin-

* Mahábhárata, Book II, chapter 32.

† Ibid., chapter 33.

tendent-generals, and to see that nothing went amiss. To Kripa, "another saintly personage", fell the duty of distributing presents of gold and jewels. Bāhlika, Dhritarāshṭra, Somadatta, and Jayadratha, were requested to act as masters of the ceremony; Duryodhana was requested to see to the due receipt of the presents and tributes brought by the assembled guests; and Kṛishṇa undertook to wash the feet of the Brāhman̄s.

Passing over some fulsome panegyric on the profusion of wealth brought by the tributaries, and the lavish way in which it was distributed among Brāhman̄s and others, we come to the last day of the ceremony, when Yudhishṭhira sat amidst the assembled guests in imperial magnificence ready to receive the homage of all as the sovereign lord of India. The enthusiasm all round was overflowing, and the praises of the great chief resounded on every side. The priests had offered their last oblations on the sacred fire, and all eyes were turned towards "the observed of all observers", "the cynosure of every eye", to behold the crowning act of this majestic ceremony, the acknowledgement of allegiance to the noble chieftain. Bhīshma, at this moment, rose from his seat, and, advancing to the foot of the throne, addressed the chief, saying, "It is your duty, O chief, first to show your respect to the assembled guests. Six are the persons, who receive, on such occasions, that mark of respect, the *arghya*; and these are the tutor, the chief priest, the brother-in-law, the sprinkler of the holy water, the king, and the dearest friend. They have all assembled here, and abided with us for a year; let an *arghya* be prepared for each of them, and it is for you to select whom you would honour most."*

The offering proposed was not a part of the religious ceremony, but a mark of social distinction, and it consisted of flowers, sandal paste, a few grains of rice, and a few blades of Durva grass sprinkled with water. From what time this offering has been current in this country, it is impossible now accurately to determine; but there is no doubt that it has been known from a very early period, for it is named in old ritualistic works as an offering meet for gods. Ordinarily this is preceded by another offering called *Pādya*, or water for washing the feet. To a guest coming from a distance nothing is more refreshing in a hot climate, like that of India, than a wash, and essences and flowers immediately after it, cannot but be grateful. And what were at first necessities soon assumed the character of formal ceremonial acts, and to this day the offerings are regularly made in the orthodox form to bridegrooms and priests. In a modified form the *arghya* appears under the name of *mālya-chandana* or "flower garlands and sandal paste", which are offered to all guests on quasi-religious ceremonial occasions, such as marriages, śrāddhas, &c., social distinction being indicated by the order in which the offering is made, the noblest guest getting it

* Mahābhārata, Book II, chapter 35.

first, and the rest successively according to their respective ranks. The law of precedence is strictly observed, and frequent disputes arise whenever there is a departure. Within the last fifty years there have been at least a dozen disputes in Calcutta alone about the claims of particular individuals to this honour. At other than religious or quasi-religious ceremonials, the sandal paste is replaced by otto-of-roses, and the garlands by bouquets. The Muhammadans in India adopted the custom from the Hindus, and at Darbárs substituted prepared betel leaf (*pán*) for the nosegay. In this last form the Governors-Generals and Viceroy of Her Britannic Majesty have hitherto honoured their Indian guests. Yudhishtira, knowing well how ticklish people were on the subject, declined to decide the question as regards the king who should first be honoured, and sought the advice of his friends.

Bhishma was of opinion that Krishna was the most renowned among the princes, and should first receive the mark of respect. Others also sided with him; and, the natural bearing of Yudhishtira being in favour of his dearly-beloved and faithful cousin, the offering was presented to him. The act, however, proved a veritable apple of discord. Śísúpála, king of Chedi, could not at all tolerate it, and denounced it as grossly partial and unjust. In a long and eloquent speech he showed that Krishna was not a king, as his father and elder brother were living, and there were several potentates present who were infinitely his superior, and that on an occasion like the Rájasúya, the question of precedence was of vital importance, and should not be hastily disposed off. Addressing the Páñdavas and Bhishma, he said—

“In the presence of the assembled host of kings, Krishna is by no means entitled to this distinction. Through favour alone you have done him the honour, and it is unworthy of you. You are, however, young, and know nothing of what is becoming in such cases; the duty in such cases is a delicate one, while Bhishma (whose advice you have accepted) is narrow-minded, and has long since lost his senses. Time-serving saints like you, Bhishma, are detestable in the assembly of good men. Under what semblance of reason have you presented the *arghya* to Krishna who is not a king? and with what face has he, in an assembly like this, accepted the offering? Should you think him to be senior by age, he cannot in the presence of his father Vasudeva deserve the honour. It is true Krishna has always been a well-wisher and follower of you, sons of Kuru, but it is unbecoming of you to give him the precedence in the presence of (your father-in-law) king Drupada. If you have done him honour under the impression of his being an Áchárya or expounder of the Sástras, you have been equally wrong, for he cannot claim precedence where the venerable professor Droṇa is present. Equally have you done wrong if you say that you have selected him as a priest (*Ritvig*) of the highest distinc-

tion, for he cannot earn that distinction in the presence of the hoary-headed Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa). How dare you raise Kṛishṇa to a higher position than that of such noble personages as the son of Sāntanu, the noble Bhīshma who can command his own death, the valiant hero and highly learned Āsvathāmā, the king of kings Duryodhana, the most learned professor of Bhārata, Kripa, the learned professor of Kimpurusha Druma, king Rukmī, and Śalya, king of Madra? Is it becoming that you should set aside the favourite pupil of Jamadagni, one who has, by his own valour, conquered, in fair fight, the whole race of kings, that valiant hero Karna in favour of Kṛishṇa? The son of Vasudeva is not a priest, nor a professor, nor a king, and you have selected him solely because you are partial to him. Besides, if you had made up your mind to honour Kṛishṇa, why have you insulted these kings by inviting them to such an assembly? We did not pay tribute to the honorable son of Kuntī from any fear, or flattery, or hopes of favour; we thought him engaged in a noble act and worthy of the rank of a suzerain, and therefore yielded to him; and he has failed to treat us with becoming respect. He has in this assembly offered the *arghya* to Kṛishṇa who is in no way deserving of it, and he could not have insulted us more seriously. The claim of the son of Dharma, to be the most virtuous, is false, for what virtuous person offers worship to one who is bereft of all merit? Yudhishthira has behaved meanly, and resigned all pretention to a sense of justice and duty, by offering the highest honour to that wicked scion of the Vrishni race who nefariously assassinated the noble king Jarāsandha. The sons of Kuntī are, however, cowards, mean, and wandering beggars, and through their meanness they may offer you the honour; but it was your duty, Kṛishṇa, to reflect upon the propriety of the act. How could you, knowing yourself to be unworthy, barefacedly accept the offering? Even as a dog, having in private tasted a drop of butter, prides itself upon it; so are you feeling elated by the honour you have got; but know well that the offering is not an insult to the royal guests, but a ridicule cast on you. Even as the marriage of a eunuch, or the attempt of a blind man to enjoy the pleasures of colour, is absurd, so is the tribute of royalty paid to one who owns no kingdom. This act of to-day fully illustrates the nature of Bhīshma and Yudhishthira's claim to good sense, and the character of Kṛishṇa.* Saying this, he rose from his seat, and was about to leave the assembly along with some of the guests; when Yudhishthira came forward and tried his best to pacify the irate chief. Bhīshma, Bhīma, and others also interposed; but to no avail. Śiśupāla, naturally of an ungovernable temper, spoke in the most violent terms. He inveighed particularly against Bhīshma for his advice, and bitterly taunted Kṛishṇa for his many shortcomings. Words rose high, and the

* Mahābhārata, II, chapter 36.

tumult became general. The proud and martial spirit of many of the chiefs sided with the king of Chedi, and from words they rushed to arms, when Krishna, in a fit of passion, knocked off the head of Śiśupála with his discus, and brought the tumult to an end.

Mr. Wheeler is of opinion that this legend has been engrafted by the Bráhmaṇical compilers on the story of the Páṇḍavas for a sinister purpose. His arguments are,* 1st, Because "the legend is at variance with the mythic account of the pavilions from which the Rájás are said to have beheld the sacrifice." 2nd, Because "it is of a character suited to the unruly habits of the Yádavas, but inconsistent with the Kshatriyas of the Royal house of Bharata, who were scrupulous in the observance of order and law." 3rd, Because "no trace of the custom appears in the ancient ritual of the Rájásúya as preserved in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa." 4th, Because "the Rájásúya was a ceremony expressive of the superiority of the Rájá who performed the sacrifice", and he could not be expected to honour another. 5th, Because "the custom of offering the *arghya* as a token of respect or act of worship belonged to the Buddhist period, and was essentially a form of worship antagonistic to that of sacrifice." The first argument is founded on a mistake. The sacrifice lasted for a whole year, and it is distinctly mentioned that the guests assembled in the Sacrificial Hall to be present at the imperial baptism when the dispute occurred. The pavilions were so constructed that the princes could, from them, behold the sacrifice going on, but the princes were not there on the occasion in question. The second is a mere assumption. The legends of the Kshatriyas of the house of Bharata show them to have been as unruly as the Yádavas, with whom they were intimately connected by marital and other ties. Besides the very fact of the Kshatriyas of the house of Bharata having been scrupulously observant of order and law, would, in a question of so much importance as precedence, suggest the idea of resenting affronts. The higher the civilization, the more troublesome becomes the settlement of the table of precedence and court etiquette. To Englishmen familiar with the heart-burning which often results even from mistakes in leading persons to the private dinner table, it would not be difficult to conceive how a slight of that description at a grand ceremonial would be calculated to irritate the proud spirit of ancient warriors, and it is well known that the Hindus have always been most punctilious in this respect. Further, if in 1870 of the Christian era, a Kshatriya chief, the Ráná of Jodhpur, could so far carry his recusancy on a question of precedence, as to necessitate his expulsion from British territory within twenty-four hours, it would by no means be unreasonable to suppose that an ancestor of his could commit himself in a similar manner three thousand years ago. The third is due to an oversight; for had the critic looked to the wording

* History of India, I., p. 171.

of the chapter on the Rājasūya in the Aitariya Brāhmaṇa, he would have found that it does not profess to give the whole of the ritual, but only "the Shastras and Stotras required at the Soma day of the Rājasūya,"* and its evidence therefore is immaterial. The fourth has arisen from a misapprehension of the real nature of the rite. An emperor doing honour to his guests, does no more thereby lower himself in his majesty than does the father-in-law become inferior to a bridegroom who accepts the position of a son, by offering him an *arghya*. The fifth, like the second, is a mere assumption. There is not a tittle of evidence to show that the Buddhists originated the *arghya* by way of protest to the sacrifices of the Vedas, and there is nothing in the *arghya* decidedly and exclusively characteristic of Buddhism. The Buddhists were not foreigners importing foreign customs and manners, but schismatics who, like the followers of Luther and Wicliffe, rejected all idolatrous, unmeaning, and superstitious rituals and observances, but retained all social rules and customs of their forefathers. Even Piyadasi, the greatest opponent of Hinduism, did not think it inconsistent with his principle to enjoin, in his rock edicts, due respect to Brāhman. *A priori* it is, therefore, to be supposed that the Buddhists did not reject so innocent a custom as that of offering flowers and incense to a guest. The Hindu-hating Muhammadans adopted it from the Hindus. Besides, the Buddhists do not in the present day offer *arghyas*, and, except in their Tantras, avowedly borrowed from the Hindus, there is no mention of the rite in their ancient books.

To turn however to the Rājasūya of the Pāṇḍavas. The tumult having subsided, the crowning act of the long protracted sacrifice was duly performed. The consecrated water was with all solemnity sprinkled on the newly-created emperor, allegiance was acknowledged by all the guests, and the ceremony was brought to a conclusion amidst the cheers and congratulations of one and all. The guests now dispersed, the chiefs with every mark of honour and consideration, each being accompanied by a brother of Yudhisṭhira to the confines of the Rāj; and the Brāhman loaded with the most costly gifts.

Mr. Wheeler opines that "the so-called Rājās who really attended the Rājasūya were, in all probability, a rude company of half-naked warriors, who feasted boisterously beneath the shade of trees. Their conversation was very likely confined to their domestic relations, such as the state of their health, of their families, the exploits of their sons, and the marriages of their daughters; or to their domestic circumstances, such as herds of cattle, harvests of grain, and feats of arms against robbers and wild beasts. Their highest ideas were probably simple conceptions of the gods who sent heat and rain; who gave long life, abundance of children, prolific cattle, and brimming harvests; and who occasionally manifested their wrath in light-

* Haug's Translation, p. 495.

ning and thunder, in devastating tempests and destroying floods. Such, in all probability, was the general character of the festive multitude who sat down upon the grass at the great feast, to eat and drink vigorously to the honour and glory of the new Rájá.”* As a fancy sketch of what a race of primitive savages may be expected to do at a feast this is perfect. From our knowledge of the Juangahs of Western Orissa, of the Santáls of the Kharakpur Hills, and of the Kharwárs of Rohtás, we can easily perceive the natural exactitude of the picture in every line. But those who have read the Mahábhárata in the original, cannot but think that it is not authorised by a single syllable to be met with in that work; and as we have to deal with the account of the feast as given in it, and not what the materials were on which it is founded, the sketch seems somewhat out of place. If we are to resolve the tents (awnings) under which the Bráhmaṇs were lodged, the mansions provided for the royal guests, the assembly hall, the golden seats, the crystal fountains and mirrors, the presents of rich stuffs, horses, golden trappings, and highly prized incenses, the stewards, croupiers, chamberlains, the court etiquette, heralds, and ambassadors, to a motley crowd of “half naked savages feasting under trees, seated on the grass,” what is there to prevent our rejecting the whole as a myth?—the baseless fabric of a poet’s vision, unworthy of being reckoned as an historic description? Mr. Wheeler attributes them to interpolations made by the Bráhmaṇical priestcraft long after the original of the Mahábhárata had been compiled. Now, the account of the Rájásūya given in that work appears under five heads, omitting the first on consultation which is of no interest. The heads are: 1st, the assassination of Jarásantha; 2nd, the conquest of the four quarters; 3rd, the sacrifice; 4th, the offering of the *arghya*; and 5th, the destruction of Śiśupála. Of these the first and the second are, according to the critic, “evidently a myth of the Bráhmaṇical compilers who sought to promulgate the worship of Kṛishṇa.” The third, he believes to be, “an extravagant exaggeration” of a feast celebrated by “half-naked savages under the shade of trees”; and the last two, he suspects, are partly borrowed from the Buddhists, and partly from the traditions of the Yádavas, and engrafted on the original story of the Pándavas. Thus, out of the five chapters we have four entirely rejected, and an insignificant residuum of one accepted in a sense which the words of the text do not openly admit. The obvious inference under the circumstances should be that the work in its entirety is a forgery, and not that an original has been tampered with and corrupted. In that case, however, the whole fabric of the learned author’s “Ancient India”, founded on the Mahábhárata, must fall to the ground.

If nineteen-twentieths of an account are to be rejected, and the remaining twentieth is to be so transmogrified as to be utterly unlike the original,

* History of India, I, p. 167.

it would be quite misleading to put it forth as a picture of that original. Even if it be true, it would be like the skeleton of Hercules put forth as Hercules in flesh and blood, or an uncarved stone of the Parthenon put forth to represent the character of that renowned work of art. Doubtless, the Pándavas were a primitive people, and twelve hundred years before the Christian era, it would be unreasonable to look, among them, for the refinements of the nineteenth century ; but the question before us is as to what the state of civilization was which they had attained, and to reject the only available evidence in the case, the Mahábhárata, on the *a priori* assumption that, inasmuch as they must have been the counterparts of the Juangahs of our day, they could not have been so civilized as to command houses and tents, or the comforts and conveniences of furniture and clothing, is, to say the least, an unphilosophical mode of argument. To create one's own major, in order to deduce therefrom a foregone conclusion, is not the most logical method for the unravelling of the tangled maze of historical truth. The question, besides, suggests itself, if the Pándavas were really naked savages, what had they to do with the rite of the Rájasúya ? It is impossible to conceive that their circumstances remaining as they are the Juangahs or the Andamanese could think of such a politico-religious rite, and in the case of persons of their condition three thousand years ago, such an idea would be totally unwarrantable. We have the authority of the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa of the Ríg Veda, and the Saṁhitás and the Bráhmaṇas of the Black and the White Yajur Vedas, whose antiquity and authenticity are unimpeached, to show that the rite under notice was well known to the Aryans from a very remote period of antiquity, and the description given in those works of the rite and its requirements, indicates that the social and political condition of their authors was considerably more advanced than those of men who have no higher conception of a solemn religious rite than entering into a drinking bout, seated on the grass under the shade of trees. The Pándavas, if such a family ever lived, must have lived either before the date of the Vedas, or after it. In the former case, they could not have performed the ceremony, for the ceremony had not been then designed. If the latter, they must have known the Vedic ordinances, and been in a condition to follow them. And in either case the theory of naked savages feasting under the shade of trees to celebrate the rite in question must be given up as untenable. The story of the Pándavas may, for aught we know to the contrary, be all a myth, even as that of the Iliad founded, as supposed by some, on an allegory of the Dawn chased by the rising sun ; but as in the latter case the Iliad must be accepted as a history of the inner life of men and manners in the earliest days of the Greeks, so must the Mahábhárata be accepted as a record of the life of the Aryans in India a few centuries before the time when the Iliad was composed ; and in the account of the

Rájásúya we cannot help accepting a picture of what at least was the ideal of such a rite in those days.

The Mahábhárata does not give any sample of the conversations of the assembled guests at the Rájásúya. The Bráhmaṇas are said to have discoursed about the particular forms in which certain ceremonies had to be performed, but the *ipsissima verba* of their discourses are not given. The speeches of Śiśupála, denouncing the claim of Kṛishṇa to the *arghya*, are fluent and fiery, though not quite so elevated in tone as some of the Homeric speeches are ; but such as they are, we cannot gather from them any idea of the common topics of private conversation of the guests. It is probable, however, that Mr. Wheeler is perfectly right in his guess about them. Warriors in olden times were rarely noted for their literary acquirements or polish, and some roughness was inseparable from them even in Europe two hundred years ago ; and the private conversation of such men could not take a very lofty tone. It is extremely doubtful if at Versailles during the coronation of Emperor William, the guests among themselves discussed on transcendental philosophy. Certain it is that even in our own day a little less of sensational talk and private scandal at tea parties and private gatherings would be a positive gain to society. Anyhow under no circumstance can the staple of private conversation among particular groups of men help us to any exact idea of the social and intellectual condition of a whole race or tribe.

As to the ideas of the Páṇḍavas regarding the Divinity, some of the mantras quoted below will, we think, be found to be much more reliable guides, than any guesses based on *à priori* arguments.

The rituals of the Rájásúya do not appear in the Mahábhárata even in a brief summary. It did not fall within the scope of that work—an avowedly epic poem—to dwell upon so dry and recondite a subject ; nor is there, as already stated, any single treatise or guide-book extant in which the whole of the details may be found arranged consecutively. The Saṁhitá of the Rig Veda, which supplies some of the principal mantras of the rite, has nowhere used the word Rájásúya. The Sâma is equally silent, and so is the Atharva. One of the Bráhmaṇas of the Rig Veda, the Aitareya, however, devotes an entire book to the rites of the last day of the sacrifice on which the king is made to sit on a throne, consecrated with holy water, driven in a chariot, and offered a goblet each of the *Soma* beer and arrack ; and also specifies a few of the hymns which are to be recited in connexion with some of the different ceremonials and offerings which make them up. The only subject which it describes at any length is the *abhisheka*, or the pouring of consecrated water on the king and its attendant rites. The Saṁhitá of the Mâdhyandini Sâkhá of the White Yajush treats of the subject at a greater length, and supplies most of the mantras required ; but the mantras occur dispersed under different heads. The Taittiriya Saṁhitá of the Black Yajush and its

corresponding Brāhmaṇa, however, make ample amends for the shortcomings of the others. They treat of the rite in nearly its entirety from the beginning to the end, and supply by direct citations or references all the mantras required to be muttered while making the various offerings to the fire, and those which should precede, or follow, the offerings, as also those which are required for bathing, drinking, mounting a car, and other formalities and ceremonies which have to be gone through. They are silent, however, as to the particular stages of the rite when the Rig mantras are to be repeated, and the Sāma hymns to be chanted, and these we know from other sources are inseparable from the rites prescribed by the Yajur Veda. The details, too, as given are insufferably tedious and puerile in some respects, and vexatiously obscure and unintelligible in others. Instructions are also wanting as to how often the rites are to be repeated, and how the time over which they spread is to be filled up.

It appears that the Rājāsūya, as a religious sacrifice, was not a distinct and independent ceremony, but a collection of several separate rites celebrated consecutively, according to a given order, and spreading over a period of twelve months. It required the services of several priests, and unlimited supplies of butter, rice, sacrificial animals, *Soma* wine, and other articles appropriate for a Yajña, as also frequent and heavy presents of gold and kine to the priests and Brāhmaṇas.

The time allotted to the preliminary rites was divided into three equal periods, each of which bore a separate name, and during each a particular round of ceremonies had to be gone through. From the number of months included in each of the three periods its most appropriate name would be a *Chāturmāsya*, or a 'quadrimestrial rite'; but the name, it seems, did not originate merely from the fact of there being four months in each period, but from the circumstance of the time being devoted to the performance of a sacrificial rite of that name prescribed in the Vedas. It commenced usually when the 14th and the 15th of the waxing moon of the month of Phālguna, (February—March) came into conjunction; but in the event of an accident on that day the new moon of the month of Chaitra (March—April) was deemed the next best, and offerings were made, at morning, noon and evening, regularly every day for four lunar months; the Darśa and the Pūrṇamāsa rites being celebrated alternately on the successive new and full moons, and the Prayujā rite on every full moon. The Chāturmāsya was ordained for both Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, and was held in great veneration. When the Buddhist set aside the old Vedic rites, they could not altogether reject the Chāturmāsya, so they retained the name, but changed its character. Instead of in March, they commenced the rite at about the end of June, or early in July; and in lieu of offerings to the fire, they took to systematic and formal reading of their scriptures. The rains

rendered travelling and itinerary mendicancy inconvenient, and shelter under the roof of a hermitage, or monastery, was an absolute necessity ; and the period of this confinement was, therefore, the best adapted for reading and particular forms of penance. From the circumstance of the ceremony being observed in the rainy weather, it had the alternative name of *Wassá* or "the autumnal rite." When Hinduism revived, the Cháturmásya could not be conveniently sent back to the season when it was originally celebrated, so in the modern calender it begins on the 11th of the waning moon in Srávana (July), and terminates on the 11th of the waxing moon in Kártika, (October—November) ; though the ceremony is not finally closed until the full moon following. Women and hermits are the principal observers of this ceremony in the present day, and it is made up of a series of fasts and penances : some abstaining from the evening meal, or rice altogether ; some taking their food served on the bare ground ; some giving up the use of bedsteads ; others eschewing the use of betel leaf, condiments and rich food of all kinds. Abstinence from flesh meat and fish, from fine clothing, and from indulgence in singing, dancing, and music are obligatory on all. In some of its features the new rite bears a close resemblance to the Lent of the Christian Church, and, curiously enough, its old prototype, the Vedic rite, commenced at about the same time.

The sacrifice opened with the cooking of eight pots of frumenty for a divinity named Anumiti, who, according to some, is the presiding spirit of the interval between the 14th and the 15th lunation, but, in the opinion of others, that of fertile land. The frumenty being duly consecrated and offered, a fee of one milch cow was to be given to the priest. The object of this offering was to pacify the earth and make her agreeable and favourably disposed to the sacrifice. Then followed an offering of one potful of frumenty to Nirriti, the personation of barren land, or the evil genius which causes mischief and interruptions to the progress of the rite. The fee (*Dakshiná*) for this offering was a piece of black cloth with a black fringe ; and this offering had to be made while standing at the doorway, so as to protect the sacrificial hall from her encroachment. Offerings next followed to Aditya, Vishnu, Agni, Indra, Soma, and Sarasvatí, to each a specific number of platters of the frumenty, and an appropriate fee for the priest who consecrated those offerings on the fire. The fee varied from a bit of gold to a calf, a bull, or one or two milch cows. The full-moon rite, Púrnamása, was then performed with offerings of *Soma* beer and animal sacrifice as ordained under that head in the Vedas.

After this preliminary homa, the rites proper of the first Cháturmásya, which bore the specific name of *Vaiśvadeva Parva*, began. These included a daily round of offerings, morning, noon, and evening, the articles offered being mostly clarified butter and frumenty cooked with grains

of various kinds, not excepting several species of wild grass, the seeds of which, though now no longer thought of as edible, seem to have been prized not only as articles fit for presentation to the gods but as nutritious food. The mantras of course differed for every separate offering, and the ritual was very scrupulously fixed for the morning, noon, and evening observances ; but for the successive days there was little or no change, except on the successive new and full moons when the Darśa and the Púrnamása were celebrated with the usual offerings of *Soma* beer, and the priests and their congregations regaled themselves with the intoxicating beverage. One of the mantras from the Black Yajur Bráhmaṇa contains a curious reference to an iron instrument put inside the mouth for governing and guiding horses. This completely refutes the accuracy of the statement made by Arrian that the Indians at the time of Alexander's invasion knew not the use of the bit or snaffle, and tied a piece of raw bullock's hide round the lower part of the horse's jaw.* The name for the bit or snaffle in the olden days was *ádhána*.† Subsequently the word *khalina* was substituted.

The second period of four months bore the name of *Varuṇa-pragháṣa Parva*. It commenced in the month of *Asádha* (June—July), or *Srávaṇa* (July—August), according as the first period commenced in *Phálguna* or *Chaitra*. The articles of offering during this period included, besides the frumenty, grains, clarified butter, &c., an occasional allowance of mutton. The arrangement of the altars was slightly changed, and the mantras used were mostly different, but the gods invoked were the same, and the alternate celebration of the Darśa and the Púrnamása rites, as also of the *Prayujá*, was regularly continued.

The third period opened with the performance of a group of rites called the *Sákamedha Parva*, which took up two days, the first devoted to three homas, and the second to nine homas, and three offerings to the manes—*Mahápitṛi yajña*. The homas of the second day were designed for the Maruts. It is said that “Indra having destroyed Vritra, ran away, thinking that he had done wrong. (Meeting the Maruts in the way) he asked, ‘Who can ascertain this (whether I have killed Vritra or not)?’ The Maruts replied, ‘We shall give you the blessing, and ascertain the fact; do you give us the first oblation.’ They then played about (on the corpse of Vritra and were satisfied that it was lifeless). Hence the play of players, and therefore are the oblations first given to the Maruts for success in warfare.” The details of the offering to the manes were very much like what is well known in connexion with the ordinary *śráddhas*, but the mantras were different, and the rite was looked upon with special veneration.

* *Vide* Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, I. p. 128.

† ऋक्सामे वा इन्द्रस्य हरी सोमपानौ । तयोः परिधेय आधानं । हरी अश्वे तयो-
र्वशीकरणाय मुखे प्रक्षितो लोहविशेष आधानं । *Black Yajur Saṁhitá*, II. p. 27.

It was followed, on a subsequent day, by another feast for the manes, and it was called *Tryambaka Purodāsa*. In this the spirit of each ancestor had a separate platter of cake or ball of barley steeped in ghí, and an extra one was designed for those who would ascend the region of the Manes (Pitris) at a future time. The balls of course, as usual in śráddhas, were consecrated, but not put on the ground. They were thrown upwards and received back on the palm of the hand. The divinity invoked afterwards was Rudra, who is described as a cruel god, with three eyes—*tri* 'three,' and *ambaka* 'eyes,' whence the name of the rite. *Ambá* is referred to as the wife of the god. The object of the rite seems to have been the prevention of the destruction of crops by vermin, through the pacification of their lord, who is described as the "master of rats."* To the modern Indian reader, this passage will appear remarkable, as it is universally known in the present day, as it was in those of the Purāṇas, that the rat was the favourite of Gaṇéśa, the son of Rudra, and not of Rudra himself. There is, however, no contradiction, as the vehicle of the son may well be a favourite of the father. As during the two preceding periods, so in this, the Darśa, the Púrṇamāsa and the Prayujá rites were celebrated with a lavish consumption of *Soma* beer, but in the absence of a manual I cannot ascertain if the Homas and the Śráddhas were repeated every fortnight: (apparently they were,) and how the other days of the period were occupied. The Sastras and Sáma hymns of this period are also unknown to me.

On the completion of the three quadrimensial rites extending over a period of one year, four separate rites were enjoined for the first day of the new year. The first of these was called *Súnasírya*, and it included offerings of twelve platters of frumenty to Indra and Agni; one platterful of the same to the Viśvedevás, twelve platters of cakes to Indra as a combination of *Súná* 'wind,' and *Síra* 'the sun,' milk to Váyu, and one platterful to Súrya. The fee to the priest for the rite was twelve heads of kine.

The next was called *Indra túrya* or "Indra the fourth," the other three associates being Agni, Rudra, and Varuṇa. It included offerings of eight plattersful of frumenty to Agni, a platterful of the same made of a kind of wild paddy, called *Gávidhuka*, to Rudra, curdled milk to Indra, and frumenty made of barley to Varuṇa. The fee for this rite was a cow fit to carry loads.

The third rite, called *Pañchedhmíya*, was performed at night, when five loads of different kinds of wood were offered to the fire along with clarified butter. The object of this rite was to prevent Rákshasas from causing interruptions. The last rite was called *Apámárga Homa*, because it was accomplished by offering, at early dawn, a handful of meal made of the seeds of a wild weed named *Apámárga*, (*Acheranthes aspra*) on a burning fagot.

* आखुस्ते रद्र । Commentary हे रद्र मूषकस्ते प्रियः पशुः ।

The story in connexion with this rite says ; “once on a time Indra, having destroyed Vritra and other Ásuras, failed to find out the Ásura Namuchi. At last he seized him, and the two wrestled together ; Indra was overpowered, and on the point of being killed ; when the Ásura told him, ‘Let us enter into an agreement for peace, and I shall let you alone ; promise only that you will not attempt to kill me with a dry or a fluid substance, nor during day nor at night.’ (The agreement was accordingly ratified, but Indra was not satisfied.) He collected some foam, which was neither dry nor moist, and, at dawn, when the sun had not risen, which was neither day nor night in this region, struck the head of the Ásura with that foam. The Ásura complained that he (Indra) was a murderer of his friend. From the head (of the Ásura) was produced the herb Apámarga. Performing a homa with that herb, he (Indra) destroyed the Rákshasas.”*

For the day following six rites were enjoined, including offerings to some of the minor deities who protect infants from their conception to the time when they learn to speak. The articles offered call for no remark. The fee in four cases was one or more cows of particular colour or quality, gold in one, and a horse in the last.

The rites aforesaid were all performed in the king’s own sacrificial hall, where the necessary altars were prepared for the purpose. But after the last-named rite, some offerings had to be made on successive days in the houses of his subjects, and they were collectively called *Raterinám Havi* or “the rite of the wealthy.” The first offering was made to Vṛishaspati in the house of the High Priest Brahmá ; the second to Indra, in the house of a Kshatriya ; the third to Aditya, in the house of the anointed Queen ; the fourth to Nirṛiti, in that of the queen who is not a favourite ; the fifth to Agni, in that of the Commander-in-Chief ; the sixth to Varuṇa, in that of the charioteer ; the seventh to the Maruts, in that of a public prostitute ; the eighth to Savitá, in that of the chamberlain or warder of the gymnasium ; the ninth to the Ásvins, in that of the treasurer ; the tenth to Pushan, in that of the ryot who shares the produce with the king ; the eleventh to Rudra, in that of a gambler. Each of these offerings had its appropriate fee. On the completion of these, two other rites, respectively called Dikshaniya and Devasuvá, had to be performed in the king’s own sacrificial hall. They occupied one day, and completed the preliminary rites necessary for the most important act of the sacrifice—the Imperial bathing or *Abhisheka*.

The account of the *Abhisheka* given in the White Yajur Bráhmaṇa is nearly as full as that which occurs in the Black Yajur, but the Bráhmaṇa of the latter which elaborates it is, at every step, interrupted by innumerable little stories of no interest.

* Taittirya Saṁhitá, Vol. II. p. 95.

The religious rites performed on the last day of the great sacrifice were twofold—one appertaining to the celebration of an ephemeral (*avikāhika*) *Soma* sacrifice with its morning, noon and evening libations, its animal sacrifices, its numerous Shastras and Stotras, and its chorus of *Sāma* hymns, and the other relating to the bathing and its attendant acts of mounting a car, symbolically conquering the whole earth, receiving the homage of the priests, and quaffing a goblet of *Soma* beer and another of arrack, together with the rites appertaining thereto.

The proper time for the ceremony was the new moon after the full moon of Phālguna, *i. e.*, at about the end of March. The fluids required for the bathing were of seventeen kinds according to the Mādhyandiniya school of the White Yajush, and “sixteen or seventeen” according to the Taittiriya-kas. The former, however, gives a list of 18 kinds*; thus—1st, the water

* The discrepancy is explained by taking the *Sūrasvatī* water to be the principal ingredient, and the others the regular ritual articles. For the *Abhisheka* of *Vaishnavite* idols of wood, stone or metal, recommended by later rituals, the articles required are considerably more numerous, but they do not include all those which the *Vedas* give above. Thus, they enumerate, 1st, clarified butter; 2nd, curds; 3rd, milk; 4th, cow-dung; 5th, cow's urine; 6th, ashes of bull's dung; 7th, honey; 8th, sugar; 9th, Ganges water or any pure water; 10th, water of a river which has a masculine name; 11th, water of a river which has a feminine name; 12th, ocean water; 13th, water from a waterfall; 14th, water from clouds; 15th, water from a sacred pool; 16th, water in which some fruits have been steeped; 17th, water in which five kinds of astringent leaves have been steeped; 18th, hot water; 19th, water dripping from a vessel having a thousand holes in its bottom; 20th, water from a jar having some mango leaves in it; 21st, water from eight pitchers; 22nd, water in which *kusa* grass has been steeped; 23rd, water from a jar used in sprinkling holy water (*sāntikumbha*); 24th, sandal-wood water; 25th, water scented with fragrant flowers; 26th, water scented with fried grains; 27th, water scented with *Jaṭāmansi* and other aromatics; 28th, water scented with certain drugs collectively called *Mahaushadhi*; 29th, water in which five kinds of precious stones have been dipped; 30th, earth from the bed of the Ganges; 31st, earth dug out by the tusk of an elephant; 32nd, earth from a mountain; 33rd, earth from the hoof of a horse; 34th, earth from around the root of a lotus; 35th, earth from a mound made by white-ants; 36th, sand from the bed of a river; 37th, earth from the point where two rivers meet; 38th, earth from a boar's lair; 39th, earth from the opposite banks of a river; 40th, cake of pressed *sesamum* seed; 41st, leaves of the *āsvattha*; 42nd, mango leaves; 43rd, leaves of the *Mimosa arjuna*; 44th, leaves of a particular variety of *āsvattha*; 45th, flowers of the *Champaka*; 46th, blossoms of the mango; 47th, flowers of the *Sami*; 48th, *Kunda* flowers; 49th, lotus flower; 50th, oleander flowers; 51st, *Nagakesara* flowers; 52nd, *Tulsi* leaves powdered; 53rd, *Bel* leaves powdered; 54th, leaves of the *kunda*; 55th, *Barley* meal; 56th, meal of the *Nivāra* grain (a wild paddy); 57th, Powdered *sesamum* seed, 58th, powder of *Sati* leaves, 59th, turmeric powder, 60th, meal of the *Syāmāka* grain, 61st, powdered ginger, 62nd, powder of *Priyangu* seeds; 63rd, rice meal; 64th, powder of *Bel* leaves; 65th, powder of the leaves of the *Amblic myrobalan*; 66th, meal of the *kangni* seed. The usual practice is to place a mirror before the idol, then to fill a small pitcher with pure

of the Sarasvatī river, (*Sārasvatī*) ; 2nd, water from a pool or river while in a state of agitation from the fall of something into it, (*Kallola*) ; 3rd, water disturbed by the passage of an army over a ford (*Vrisasend*) ; 4th, water taken during an ebb tide, (*Arthetā*) ; 5th, water taken during a flood tide (*Ojashvatī*) ; 6th, water from the point of junction of two streams produced by a sandbank in a river (*Parivāhini*) ; 7th, sea-water (*Apāmpatī*) ; 8th, water from a whirlpool (*Apāngarbhā*) ; 9th, water from a pool in a river where there is no current, (*Sūryatvak*) ; 10th, rain water which falls during sunshine, (*Sūryavarchhas*) ; 11th, tank water (*Māndā*) ; 12th, well-water, (*Vrajakshitā*) ; 13th, dew-drops collected from the tops of grass blades, (*Vāsā*) ; 14th, honey (*Savishthā*) ; 15th, liquor amnion, (*S'akvari*) ; 16th, milk (*Janabhrit*) ; 17th, clarified butter, (*Viśvabhrit*) ; 18th, water heated by exposure to the sun, (*Svarāt*.) These waters were collected at proper seasons and opportunities, and kept in reserve in pitchers near the northern altar. On the day of the ceremony eighteen small vessels made of the wood of the *Ficus glomerata* (*Udumbara*) or of the *Calamus rotang* (*vetasa*) were provided, and the Adhvaryu, proceeding to the first pitcher, drew some water from it into one of the vessels while repeating the mantra, "O honeyed water whom the Devas collected, thou mighty one, thou begotten of kings, thou enlivener; with thee Mitra and Varuṇa were consecrated, and Indra was freed from his enemies; I take thee." He next drew some water from the second pitcher, with the mantra "O water, thou art naturally a giver of kingdoms, grant a kingdom to my Yajamāna so and so (naming the king)", and then poured into the vessel butter taken four times in a ladle, a mantra being repeated to consecrate the operation of pouring. In this way all the eighteen vessels being filled and consecrated in due form, their contents were all poured into a large bucket made of the same wood, while repeating the verse, "O honeyed and divine ones, mix with each other for the promotion of the strength and royal vigour of our Yajamāna." The mixture was then removed to the altar opposite the place of Mitrāvaruṇa. The bucket being thus placed, six offerings were made to the six divinities, Agni, Soma, Savitā, Sarasvatī, Pushā, and Vrihaspatī. Two slips of Kusa grass were next taken up, a bit of gold was tied to each, and the slips thus prepared were then dipped into the bucket, and a little water was taken out with them, and sprinkled on the king while

water, drop in it a small quantity of one of the articles in the order above named, and lastly to pour the mixture on the reflected image, through a rosehead called śata-jhārā, similar to the gold vessel with a hundred perforations described above. This symbolical bathing is found expedient to prevent the paint, and polish of the idols being soiled and tarnished. In the case of unbaked idols the necessity for it is imperative, and the bathing is more simple, summary and expeditious.

repeating the mantra, "I sprinkle this by order of Savitá, with a faultless thread of grass (*pavitra*)—with the light of the sun. You are, O waters, unassailable, the friends of speech, born of heat, the giver of Soma, and the sanctified by mantra, do ye grant a kingdom (to our Yajamána.)"

Four buckets were next brought out, one made of Palása wood, (*Butea frondosa*) one of Udumbara (*Ficus glomerata*), one of Vata (*Ficus indica*), and one of Ásvattha (*Ficus religiosa*), and the collected waters in the bucket were divided into four parts, and poured into them.

The king was then made to put on his bathing dress, consisting of an inner garment for the loins (*tárpya*) made of linen or cotton cloth steeped in clarified butter, a red blanket for the body (*Paṇḍya*), an outer wrapper tied round the neck like a barber's sheet (*adhivása*), and a turban (*ushnísá*). A bow was then brought forth, duly strung, and then handed to the king, along with three kinds of arrows, for all which appropriate mantras are provided.

The Adhvaryu then, taking the right hand of the king, repeated the two following mantras : (1st) May Savitá appoint you as the sovereign of the people. May Agni, the adored of householders, appoint you the ruler of all householders. May Soma, the sovereign of the vegetable kingdom, grant you supremacy over vegetables. May Vrihaspati, the developer of speech, bestow on you power over speech. May Indra, the eldest, make you the eldest over all. May Rudra, the lord of animals, make you supreme over all animals. May truthful Mitra make you the protector of truth. May Varuṇa, the defender of virtuous actions, grant you lordship over virtue." (2nd). "O well-worshipped gods, Do you free so and so (naming the king), the son of so and so (naming the father and mother of the king), from all enemies, and enable him to be worthy of the highest duties of Kshatriyas, of the eldest, of the lord of vehicles, and of supremacy. Through your blessings he has become the king of such a nation (naming it). O ye persons of that nation, from this day, he is your king. Of us Bráhmaṇs, Soma is the king." The concluding line of the last mantra is worthy of note, as it exempts the Bráhmaṇs from the sovereignty of the anointed king.

A few offerings to the fire next followed, and the king was then made emblematically to conquer the four quarters of the earth and the sky. Making him advance successively towards the east, north, south, and west, the Adhvaryu said, "Yajamána, conquer the earth. May the metre Gáyatri, the Ráthántara Sáma hymn, the Stoma named Trivit, the spring season and the Bráhmaṇ caste protect you on this side." "Yajamána, conquer the south. May the metre Trisṭup, the Brihat Sáma hymn, the fifteen-fold Stoma, the summer season and the Kshatriya caste protect you there." "Yajamána, conquer the west. May the metre Jagati, the Vairupa Sáma hymns, the seventeen-fold Stoma, the rainy season and the Vaiśya caste protect

you there.” “Yajamāna, conquer the north. May the metre Anuṣṭup, the Vairāja Sāma hymns, the twenty-one-fold Stoma, the Autumn season, and the fruits of the earth protect you there.” The king was then made to look upwards, and while he did so, the Adhvaryu recited a mantra saying, “Yajamāna, conquer the upper regions. May the metre Pañkti, the Sakvara and the Raivata Sāma hymns, the three-fold-nine and the thirty-three-fold Stomas, the dewy and the cold seasons, Vigour and Dravina wealth protect you there.”

A stool, made of the wood of the *Mimosa catechu* (*Khadira*) or of the *Ficus glomerata*, having feet about seven inches high, had next to be provided, and thereon was spread a tiger skin with the hairy side upwards and the head looking to the south, the mantra for the purpose saying, that even as the skin was the glory of the moon so should it confer glory on the king. On the skin was placed a *Satamāna*, a bit of gold of the weight of a hundred measures,* or a coin of that name—probably the latter. Seated on this bathing stool facing the east, the king had a vessel of gold, weighing a *S'atamāna* and having nine or a hundred perforations in its bottom, placed on his head. A piece of copper was also placed under his left foot, and a piece of lead under his right foot. The vessel was intended to serve as a rose-head for the fluid for the bathing falling in a shower over the head of the king; the copper as the emblem of the head of Namuchi, the chief of the Asuras or Demons, who were inimical to religious rites, and the lead that of tatlers and wicked people who had to be put down. The mantras intended to be recited when placing the three articles indicate their character. The king recited the mantras, and then kicked away the metals from under his feet. After this, he lifted his two hands upwards, repeating appropriate mantras, in one of which he promised to rise before the sun every day, and remained in that position. Thereupon, the Adhvaryu came forward and stood in front of him with the bucket made of Palāsa wood in his hand. The High Priest or a relative of the king stood on the right side with the bucket of Udumbara wood, and a Kshatriya on the left with the bucket made of Nyagrodha wood, while a Vaiśya stood behind with the bucket made of Aśvattha wood, and each on his turn, in the order named, poured the contents of his bucket on the king's head. The mantra to be recited when about to pour the water runs thus: “May king Soma and Varuṇa and the other

* The Scholiast takes the *Satamāna* to be equivalent to a hundred *krishṇalas* or *ratis*; which would be equal to 175 Troy grains; but the researches of the learned Mr. Thomas clearly prove that the *māna* was nearly treble the weight of the *rati*, and that the *Satamāna* was equivalent to 320 *ratis* or 560 Troy grains, which made it equal to four of the well-known old coin *Suvarṇa*, which weighed 140 grains Troy—something like the Greek Tetradrachma, but about twice its weight, and of gold. Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, New Ed., p. 5.

gods who are the defenders of religion protect thy speech ; may they protect thy vital airs ; may they protect thy eyes ; may they protect thy ears." The mantra for the Adhvaryu when pouring the water from his bucket, says, " O Yajamána, I bathe thee with the glory of the moon ; may you be king of kings among kings ; may you prosper in every way ; may you overcome all your enemies. O ye well worshipped Devas, may you free so and so (here the name of the king) the son of so and so (here the names of his father and mother) from all his enemies, and enable him to discharge the highest duties of the Kshatriya, of the eldest, of the owner of the best vehicles, and of his own greatness. Through your blessings he has become the king of such a nation (name). Know ye of that nation, that he has this day become your king. Of us, Bráhmanas, Soma is the king." For the Brahmá the mantra is similar to the last, substituting only " the glory of Agni," for that of the moon, and omitting the names. The Vaisya appealed to the glory of God, and the Kshatriya the light of the sun.

The baptism over, the Emperor descended from his seat, cast off his wet clothes, put on his regal dress including hogskin shoes, and then took three steps forward, symbolically to represent the subjugation of the three regions, repeating for each act a separate mantra. The three steps were the counterparts of those by which Vishnu spanned the earth, the upper regions and heaven, or those of the sun at sunrise, midday and sunset. The Adhvaryu in the meantime offered an oblation to the fire, and the Agnidhra, collecting a portion of the water that had run over the Emperor's person, poured a portion of it on the fire in the name of Rudra.

A chariot was next brought into the sacrificial hall, and to it three horses were yoked, and two charioteers were made to take their places on its two sides. The White Yajush recommends four horses. The Emperor, having taken his seat, ordered the charioteers to proceed, and they whipped the horses, and drove them on until the vehicle was brought in front of a herd of cattle, when the Emperor touched the foremost cow with the top of his bow, the operation being emblematic of a successful cattle-lifting raid. The vehicle was then turned and brought back to its place near the altar, when the Adhvaryu offered four oblations to the fire, in the names of Agni, Soma, Maruts and Indra, and the Emperor, while descending from his chariot, recited a mantra, saying, " Him who is the pure soul, (Hañsa), Him, who is the pervader of the ether, Him, who presides as the Hotá at the altar, Him who is the long-travelled guest, Him, who, born of water, reigns in every human form, Him who enlivens all animals, Him who controls the seasons, Him who sustains the mountains, Him, the all-pervading and the mighty one, I adore." Having descended from the car, he touched the two *Satamánas* which had been previously attached to the two wheels of the vehicle.

A proper throne with a leather cushion was next prepared, and the Emperor, having taken his seat thereon, received the homage of his guests. The first person to approach him was the Adhvaryu, who, touching his breast, said, "If you desire to govern an empire, judge impartially between the great and the small; direct your entire attention to promote the prosperity of all; and exert your utmost to prevent all misadventure."

The Brahmá or High Priest next appeared before him and the following conversation passed between them.

The Emperor. "Bráhmaṇ."

Brahmá. "Thou art all-glorious. Thy behests can never be overruled. Thou art the asylum of the people, and therefore (as great as) Savitá."

Emperor "Bráhmaṇ."

Brahmá. "Thou art all-glorious. Thy might is infallible. Thou art the asylum of the poople, and therefore (as great as) Varuṇa."

Emperor "Bráhmaṇ."

Brahmá. "Thou art all-glorious and the owner of every kind of wealth. Thou art the preserver of the peace of the country, and therefore Indra."

Emperor "Bráhmaṇ."

Brahmá. "Thou art all-glorious, the adored of all to whom thou art kind, and the cause of weeping to the women of your enemies, and therefore Rudra."

Emperor "Bráhmaṇ."

Brahmá. "Thou art all glorious, therefore like unto Brahmá."

The Purohit was next commanded to approach, and he handed the Emperor a sacrificial knife. This knife was made of hard wood, and in shape like a scymitar. With the point of this instrument, the Emperor had to draw on the ground a dice-board, and, offer thereon four oblations with butter to Agni. This done, the Adhvaryu handed over to him five dice, shaped like couris, made of gold, and these he cast on the board, saying, "O Ye dice which have been taken up after the offering of due oblations, do ye, mixing with the fierce rays of the sun, grant me supremacy among kings." If the dice when cast showed the full number on the upper surface, the augury was believed to be satisfactory.

After this angury the allies, tributaries, vassals and other guests offered their congratulations and homage; but as this was done without any mantra, no mention of it occurs in the ritual.

Now followed a rite called *Sañsṛipa Havi*, and it required eight plattersful of butter for Agni, frumenty for Sarasvatí, and twelve plattersful of butter for Savitá, the offering to each divinity being accompanied by an appropriate fee.

Next came the rite called *Daśapeya*. Preparations for it were made previously, and they included the purchase and expression of the juice of

the Soma vine, and the brewing of the same into beer. Immediately after the performance of the last named rite, a series of offerings were made to the fire with this beer, and then a cupful of it was offered to the Emperor, who quaffed it after repeating a mantra. He then presented largesses to all the officiating priests, including two golden mirrors to the Adhvaryu, a golden necklace and his own outer garment to the Udgátá, golden bracelets to the Hotá, a horse to the Prastotá and the Pritihartá, twelve heads of pregnant young heifers to the Brahmá, a barren cow to the Mitrávaruṇa, a vigorous bull to the Brahmanachhañsi, clothes to the Neshtri and Potri, a cart loaded with barley to the Achchháváka, and a bullock to the Agnidhra.

Next followed certain offerings of butter, curds and frumenty to Agni, Indra, Viśvedeváh, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Vrihaspati, and the sacrifice of a pregnant goat having well developed teats under the neck to Aditya, and that of a pregnant heifer to the Maruts.

The last rite in this long list of ceremonies and sacrifices was called *Sautrámani*, or the offering of rice spirit. Preparations for it were made from three days previously, when young dried dates (*krāla*), small round plums (*vaḍari*), and myrobalans (*haritaki*) were brought, carefully cleaned, deprived of their stalks and calyces, and powdered, then three kinds of the fur—of the lion, the tiger and the wolf—were mixed with the powders, along with barley meal, yeast and tender blades of durba grass, and allowed to ferment in a large vessel of water. When the fermentation was complete, the liquor was strained and preserved for use. After the performance of the rite named in the last preceding para., a brown goat and a bull were sacrificed, and offerings were made with this liquor, as also with butter and frumenty, and the ceremony was closed by the Emperor quaffing a gobletful of the exhilarating liquor.

The rituals given in the Black and the White Yajush thus limit the Abhisheka to one sprinkling and one bathing; but the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa of the Rig Veda recommends three kinds of bathing: 1st, called *Abhisheka* for kings; 2nd, *Purnábbhisheka* for superior kings, and 3rd, *Mahábbhisheka* for emperors. Its details are different, but from the mantras given, the second bathing appears to correspond to a great extent with the ritual above given. The object of the third is thus described: "The priest who, with this knowledge (about the *Mahábbhesheka* ceremony as described in a preceding part of the work) wishes that a Kshatriya should conquer in all the various ways of conquest, to subjugate all people, and that he should attain to leadership, precedence and supremacy over all kings, and attain everywhere and at all times to universal sovereignty, enjoyment (of pleasures), independence, distinguished distinction as a king, the fulfilment of the highest desires, the position of a king, of a great king, and supreme mastership, that he might cross (with his arms) the universe, and become the ruler of the whole earth

during all his life, which may last for an infinitely long time, that he might be the sole king of the earth up to its shores bordering on the ocean ; such a priest should inaugurate the Kshatriya with Indra's great inauguration ceremony."* Such a blessing, however was not easily granted. Before granting it, the priest was required to demand from the king the following in the form of an oath : " Whatever pious works thou mightest have done during the time which may elapse from the day of thy birth to the day of thy death, all these together with thy position, thy good deeds, thy life, thy children, I would wrest from thee shouldst thou do me any harm."†

The utensils required for the ceremony were very much the same as noticed before, but the fluid for the bathing instead of including eighteen kinds of water and other substances, comprised only four kinds of fruit powdered, curds, honey, clarified butter and rain-water fallen during sunshine, all mixed in a bucket of Udumbara wood. The mixture was too repulsive to be poured over the head, and so it was used only for sprinkling over the person of the king. The drinking of the Soma beer and spirituous liquor then followed, for the latter of which the following mantras are given : " Of what juice well-prepared beverage Indra drank with his associates, just the same, viz. king Soma, I drink here with my mind being devoted to him." " To thee who growest like a bullock (Indra) by drinking Soma, I send off (the Soma juice) which was squeezed to drink it ; may it satiate thee and make thee well drunk."‡

The effect of the drinking is thus described by the author of the Bráhmaṇa : " The drinking of spirituous liquor, or Soma, or the enjoyment of some other exquisite food, affects the body of the Kshatriya who is inaugurated by means of Indra's great inauguration ceremony, just as pleasantly and agreeably till it falls down, as the son feels such an excess of joy when embracing his father, or the wife when embracing her husband, as to lose all self-command."§

It is no where stated whether the whole or only a part of the ceremonies above described was observed by Yudhishthira. Each school of Vedic priests having had their own separate system of ritual, it is to be presumed that Yudhishthira must have followed one of them, and consequently omitted some details. It is not known to which school his family priest Dhaumya belonged, but the school of the client must have been the same as that of the priest.

* Haug's Translation, p. 519. † Loc. cit. ‡ Ibid., p. 522. § Ibid., p. 523.

I N D E X

TO

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